The discursive (re)construction of national identity in Cyprus and England with special reference to history textbooks: a comparative study

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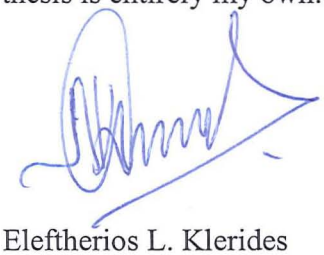
Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2008

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.



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Word count (exclusive of appendix and bibliography): 98139 words

Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of national identity construction in Cyprus and England in two historical times: the period following the Greek and Turkish military offensives in Cyprus (1974-93), and the period of the Conservative administration in Britain (1979-97). It examines identity formations in history textbooks across the two settings and addresses their relationship with intellectual and political constructs of identity.

These periods were moments of a metamorphosis of identity in both settings. This identity reconstruction was firstly materialised in the signifying practices of politicians and intellectuals. As an effect of the emergence of new nationalist discourses in the political and intellectual fields was the production of new history textbooks, making it possible for the national image to be also reconstituted in and through them. New identities were articulated in the field of school history but their redefinition varied within and across the two settings. Variations within each setting were primarily determined by the particular features of the social domain in which the construction of identity took place. Across the settings, they were mainly shaped by different genres of school history writing. Despite their differences, the new identities across the two cultural settings and social fields shared certain similar motifs – fragmentation, hybridity and ambivalence.

It is therefore suggested that the making of identity in history textbooks cannot be understood by focusing solely on textbooks. Knowledge of the specificities of the historical, the intellectual, the political and the educational layers of the context in which they are embedded as well as the complex linkages between identifications articulated in these layers, is required. Based on this finding, this thesis attempts to formulate a theoretical model that enhances the understanding of how national identity is produced, sustained, transformed and dismantled discursively in history textbooks.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis has been the outcome of a long and painstaking effort that would not have been completed without the generous and kind assistance and contributions I was fortunate to receive by various individuals and institutions. I am indebted to all of them and I would like to thank them for their presence while writing this thesis.

First of all, I would like to thank the A.G. Leventis Foundation and the Tyrimou fund for funding my research project at its various stages. Without their financial support undertaking and finalising this project would not have been feasible or sustainable.

Special thanks are owed to Demetris Charalambous for inspiring me to pursue a PhD in the first place and for his consistent support and care throughout the years. Also, this thesis has benefited greatly from the various discussions I have had with many people from the Institute of Education and beyond and I would like to thank them here. They are too many to name, but I would like to include Jan Blommaert, David Crook, Eva Gamarnikow, Katerina Daniil, Stavros Moutsios, Yiannis Papadakis, Sophia Diamantopoulou, Costas Voros, Panayiotis Persianis and Kaori Okumoto.

Above all, I am grateful to my supervisors, Bob Cowen and Bob Ferguson, for their constant guidance, advice, encouragement, enthusiasm and professionalism. I was lucky to have them as my supervisors, as they made this journey an intellectual sustenance, challenge and growth. Special thanks to Bob Cowen who undertook the biggest burden of supervision and who did not spare time whenever I needed him.

Most importantly, I am indebted to my parents for their loving patience and support both emotionally and financially. I also wish to acknowledge the hospitality of the Chrysostomou family with whom I stayed throughout my studies in London.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my fiancée, Theophania Chavatzia, for her strong commitment and support and for putting up with me in difficult times. Her presence has been a source of strength in more ways than she can ever imagine.

However, for any errors or inaccuracies that may appear in this thesis, I, alone, remain responsible.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Main theme and comparative rationale

This thesis seeks to offer a comparative analysis of the construction of national identity in Cyprus and England[1] at two specific historical moments: the period following the Greek and Turkish military offensives in Cyprus, where a Centre-Left political coalition was in power for most of the time (1974-93), and the period of the administration of the Conservative Party in Britain (1979-97). More specifically, it will examine constructs of identity in history textbooks across the two settings and will attempt to address their relationship with formations of identity promoted by politicians and intellectuals.

The desire to write this thesis began when I was doing my MA studies in Comparative Education. From my general readings, I knew that Cyprus and England are different in many ways – not least historically and culturally. Nevertheless, while exploring educational reforms and social change in Cyprus and England during the last quarter of the twentieth century, I had noticed that they also experienced particular similar phenomena in relation to school history and national identity, especially during this specific time period.

In England, history curricular reform took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s[2]. The Education Reform Act of 1988 introduced for the first time in English education a national curriculum in history that was compulsory for the ages five to sixteen. This initiative resulted in the production and distribution of new textbooks in the early-to-mid 1990s to support the teaching of 'British' history[3].

The writing of new textbooks occurred against the background of concerns about the general state of the national community and identity[4]. These concerns were primarily voiced by conservative politicians and intellectuals, portraying images of 'a nation in decline' and 'a nation under threat'. As a response to perceived communal 'crisis' and a possible 'loss' of identity, the Conservatives tried simultaneously to reverse 'decline' by transforming the nation's identity and to safeguard it against 'dangers'. Yet, the sort of identity that was to be both transformed and maintained was ambiguous. This derives from what is often called in the relevant literature as the historical problem and enigma of national identity in England – English or British?[5]

Moreover, national identity became an object of concern in the shadow of intense change. There was for example the collapse of the British Empire, the relative economic and political decline of Britain as a world power, membership of the European Economic Community and later of the European Union, immigration from the New Commonwealth and the rise of multicultural and antiracist ideologies in society.

Meanwhile, in Cyprus, history curriculum reform also occurred at the last quarter of the twentieth century. The education reforms of 1976-80 introduced for the first time in the history of Greek education on the island the teaching of Cypriot history as a subject separate from Greek history[6]. The teaching of the history of Cyprus was compulsory in the last grade of upper-secondary schooling and supplementary both in the other grades of secondary education and in the last four grades of primary education. This initiative was accompanied with the production of new textbooks. One series appeared in the years 1978-80 and another in the late 1980s and early 1990s[7].

At the same time, as in England, identity also became an object of attention largely to politicians and intellectuals from the Centre-Left camp[8]. In their speeches and writings, they expressed concerns about the general condition of Cyprus which was perceived to be in danger of annihilation. As a response to this 'threat', real or imaginary, and to the insecurity about the future, they advocated 'a struggle for survival' that included two

uneasily combined and even contradictory processes: to transform the people's entrenched identity and to maintain and resist changes in it. In the relevant literature, these processes are often related to the intensification of the Greek Cypriot dilemma of national identity which revolves around the question: Greek or Cypriot?[9]

As in England, moreover, concerns over identity in Cyprus were voiced in the light of radical changes. These include the Greek-led coup and the Turkish invasion, the territorial division of the island, the violent displacement of populations, ethnic separation, the establishment of an internationally unrecognised Turkish Cypriot state in the north, and the colonisation of the north by Anatolian settlers.

This apparently similar experience – the writing of new history textbooks against the background of broader curricular reforms, political and intellectual concerns about nationhood or peoplehood, the dual conception of national identity and simultaneous efforts to transform and maintain identity – yet in two such different countries captured my interest. How could it be explained? And perhaps more importantly, how could it be approached and studied comparatively without glossing over such motifs as history, culture, conflict and difference – the themes that make comparisons and particularly the field of comparative education intellectually interesting and compelling[10]?

Based on discourse analysis, this thesis uses a comparative perspective to explain and understand this similar experience across the two different settings. The analysis of discourse primarily endeavours to understand why of all the things that could be said and done at a specific period in a given society, only certain things are said and done[11]. From this point of view, several questions arose that inspired me to start my research:

- What made 'the nation' or 'the people' become objects of attention for politicians and intellectuals in the two settings during a certain historical time?
- Was there a new discourse about the national 'self' in each place? If yes, in what ways was it new, and, what was its nature? English or British?/ Greek or Cypriot?

- If there was a new nationalist discourse in each setting, how was it related to the production and circulation of new history textbooks? Did it make it possible for identity to be (also) rearticulated in the newly-written school histories?
- Likewise, was there a new discourse of identity in the new history textbooks in each place? If yes, what was its nature? English or British?/ Greek or Cypriot?
- What was the relationship between national identity in school historical narratives and the identity that politicians and intellectuals were promoting?

1.2 Thesis arguments and chapter structure

The argument of the thesis is that *national identity was reconstructed discursively* across the two specific places at the two particular times. Discursive change was evident both in the domain of school historiography and in the political and intellectual fields. Yet, the origins and motivations as well as the processes and patterns of reconstruction were different both across and within (amongst the social fields) the two settings. Despite their differences, the new national identities across the two cultural settings and social domains shared a finite cluster of common themes – hybridity, ambivalence, fragmentation and contradiction. To test this argument, I divide it into the following five sub-arguments:

- First, certain historical changes brought 'the nation' or 'the people' to the attention of politicians and intellectuals. Nationhood or peoplehood was not simply talked or written about but, through discourse, it was constructed in specific, novel ways.

- Second, the production and distribution of new history textbooks was one of the effects of the new political and intellectual discourses on the national 'self'. These discourses created conditions for identity to also be reconstructed in the new school histories.

- Third, national identity, in the course of writing about a nation or people's past for children, was also reconstituted discursively.

- Fourth, formations of identity in school histories and identity constructs articulated by politicians and intellectuals were characterised by relationships of appropriateness as well as of translation, complementarity and opposition.

- Fifth, there was, therefore, no such thing as one discursive national identity in the two places at these particular periods. Rather, different identities were constituted according to the social field in which their articulation took place.

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two outlines the theoretical approach of the thesis to national identity seeking to sketch the dimensions of the discursive analysis of its construction. In Chapter Three, a historical account of the dual discourses about nationhood or peoplehood across the two settings and the contexts that made their emergence possible is presented. Chapter Four, using a set of changes in the two places as a point of departure, examines the perspective of politicians and intellectuals on the concept of national identity. Chapter Five offers a view over time of both educational patterns and, specifically, genres of school history writing, and of identity construction in school histories prior to the production of new history textbooks. Chapters Six and Seven analyse the then newly-written history textbooks in Cyprus and England respectively attempting to outline discursive constructs of national identity. Chapter Eight, finally, is the conclusion of the thesis.

Endnotes

[1] The thesis, although it recognises the multi-ethnic character of Cyprus and England, focuses on issues of identity only in the Greek Cypriot community in Cyprus and the English community in England. Hence, the terms 'Cyprus' and 'England' will be employed throughout the thesis as synonymous with these two social groups, respectively.

[2] See, for example: Phillips, R. (1998) *History teaching, nationhood and the State: a study in educational politics* (London, Cassell); Crawford, K. (1995) A history of the right: the battle for control of national curriculum history 1989-1994, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. XXXXIII, No. 4, pp. 433-456; McKiernan, D. (1993) History in the national curriculum: imagining the nation at the end of the 20th century, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 33-51.

[3] School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1994) *The impact of the National Curriculum on the production of history textbooks and other resources for Key Stage 2 and 3 – a discussion paper* (London, SCAA), p. 1, p. 33; Nichol, J. & Dean, J. (2003) Writing for children: history textbooks and teaching texts, *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 14, http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journal6/6contents.htm.

[4] See *inter alia*: Ward, P. (2004) *Britishness since 1870* (London and New York, Routledge), pp. 108-112, pp. 113-140; Lynch, P. (1999) *The Politics of Nationhood: sovereignty, Britishness and Conservative politics* (London, Macmillan); Goulbourne, H. (1991) *Ethnicity and nationalism in post-imperial Britain* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press); Seidel, G. (1986) Culture, nation and 'race' in the British and French New Right, in: Levitas, R. (ed.) *The ideology of the New Right* (Cambridge, Polity Press), pp. 107-135.

[5] Smith, A.D. (2006) 'Set in the silver sea': English national identity and European integration, *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 433; Kumar, K. (2003) *The making of English national identity* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), p. ix, pp. 1-17; Langlands, R. (1999) Britishness or Englishness? The historical problem of national identity in Britain, *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 53-69.

[6] Mavratsas, C.V. (1998) *Facets of Greek nationalism in Cyprus: ideological contest and the social construction of the Greek Cypriot identity 1974-1996* (Athens, Katarti), p. 83 (in Greek); Papadakis, Y. (1993) *Perceptions of history and collective identity: a study of contemporary Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nationalism* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge), p. 143.

[7] Koullapis, L. (1998/99) Ideological orientations of the Greek Cypriot education with reference to the subject of history, *Σύγχρονα Θέματα*, No. 68-69-70, p. 281 (in Greek).

[8] See: Mavratsas, C.V. (1997) The ideological contest between Greek-Cypriot nationalism and Cypriotism 1974-1995: politics, social memory and identity, *Ethnic and Racial studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 719-725; Peristianis, N. (1995) Right – left, hellenocentrism –cyprocentrism: the pendulum of collective identifications after 1974, in: Peristianis, N. & Tsangaras, G. (eds.) *Anatomy of a metamorphosis: Cyprus after 1974 – society, economy, politics, culture* (Lefkosia, Intercollege Press), pp. 131-136 (in Greek).

[9] Peristianis, N. (2006) Cypriot nationalism, dual identity, and politics, in: Papadakis, Y., Peristianis, N. and Welz, G. (eds.) *Divided Cyprus: modernity, history, and an island in conflict* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press), pp. 114-117; Papadakis, Y. (1998) Greek Cypriot narratives of history and collective identity: nationalism as a contested process, *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 152-162.

[10] See amongst others: Cowen, R. (2002) Moments of time: a comparative note, *History of Education*, Vol. 31, No. 5, p. 419; Kazamias, A.M. (2001) Re-inventing the historical in comparative education: reflections on a protean episteme by a contemporary player, *Comparative Education*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 439-440, pp. 445-447; Skocpol, T. & Somers, M. (1980) The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 174-197.

[11] Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and social change* (Cambridge, Polity), pp. 39-49; Foucault, M. (1978) Politics and the study of discourse, *Ideology & Consciousness*, No. 3, p. 14.

CHAPTER TWO

Theories and concepts: a discursive approach to the construction and comparative study of national identity

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to develop a conceptual and methodological framework for the study of national identity in Cyprus and England. The concept of identity has long been a fundamental motif in the field of comparative education[1]. It has been a significant part of the working professional and intellectual capital of comparative educators, to the point that Cowen defines it as one of the unit ideas of the field[2].

In recent times, Cowen has called for a rethinking of how to treat this unit idea within the field[3]. The necessity to re-negotiate identity is part of a wider call for re-imagining comparative education in the new millennium[4]. Such a call is believed to be mandated by a changed or changing world, in Kazamias' words, "the new *cosmos* of late modernity"[5], notably by what is seen as a pressing need to incorporate into comparative research the complex new views of identities, nations and cultures that have emerged or are emerging, not least through post-structuralism, post-modernism and post-colonialism.

Even if the world has changed or is changing, it does not necessarily mean that older views of this unit idea should be automatically dismissed. Its renegotiation does not mean developing an ahistorical thinking. Rather, it should be seen "as one of consolidation and maturity that builds cumulatively, confidently and critically upon past achievements"[6]. Hence, historical interpretations of this concept in the field should be reviewed to assess which ideas can be kept, which should be readapted and which should be discarded.

To re-conceptualise this unit idea of identity in order to develop a framework for its study across the two settings, this chapter tries to bring together three epistemic strands: the traditions of comparative education, new perspectives on the study of nationalism, and social theory on discourse and linguistically-oriented discourse analysis. It starts with a

sketch of how identity has been treated in comparative research. This is followed by an outline of recent developments in the study of nationalism, notably in the fields of Cultural Studies and Sociolinguistics. It is suggested that these new perspectives make urgent a rethinking of how comparativists treat identity, and that a new agenda for comparative educational research arises out of its re-reading. It is then suggested that discourse analysis is a useful approach for putting into practice the new research priorities and for reaching new complexities in understanding identity construction in schooling, especially in the domain of history education. The main argument put forward is that discourse can be a theoretical and methodological bridge in the study of identity across the two settings.

2.2 National identity in the comparative education canon

The notion of national identity has always been a central motif in a certain strand of comparative education. For example, in the work of Kandel, Schneider and Mallinson, there was the idea of "national character"[7]. Hans also emphasised through his "factors", notably race, religion, language and political philosophies, a certain conception of cultural identity[8]. A cultural framing along national lines also lay behind the Sadlerian dictum that "the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside"[9].

Underpinning this early historical literature of the field was a certain cluster of claims about the nature of nationhood. The nation was often perceived as a natural and objective entity, existing "there, in the very nature of things", to use Gellner's terms[10]. In the eyes of comparative educators, national identities were also inner and innate essences, and this line of thinking is particularly apparent in how they understood national character. Mallinson, for instance, defined it as a determinant of a nation's collective behaviour and ascribed its origins "to the existence of a number of relatively permanent attitudes – to these prime values – common to a nation"[11]. Kandel made similar essentialist generalisations about character. For example, he wrote that "the Englishman dislikes to think or formulate plans of action" and that "the Englishman, more than any other national, believes that an ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory"[12].

The essentials of identity were further understood as being there from birth, unified and continuous, changeless throughout all the changes, eternal. To cite Mallinson again, national character was seen as "the totality of dispositions to thought, feeling and behaviour peculiar to and widespread in a certain people, and manifested with greater or less continuity in a succession of generations"[13].

This specific conception of identity in the comparative literature as essential, fixed, homogenised and everlasting is a manifestation of the colonisation of the field by the primordialist and perennialist paradigm on the study of nationalism. For primordialists and perrenialists, identities, like nations, are essences – ubiquitous, natural and ineffable entities existing throughout recorded history with their intrinsic attributes as largely unchanged[14]. This paradigm had dominated scholarly thinking since its emergence in Europe in the eighteenth century until about the 1960s and the 1970s.

Since they were seen as essentialist, identities were studied as existing independently from school practices. And if they existed before these practices, education, and within it, the subject of history, was nothing more than their mere reflection. Hans, for example, stressed that education systems are the outward expression of national character and as such represents the nation in distinction from other nations[15]. Therefore, the main purpose of national education was to preserve and hand on the cultural inheritance of a nation, and by means of this heritage, to foster a sense of national belongingness among citizens and assure the continuity of the nation. An example of this line of thought comes from Mallinson: "[i]t is through the education of the immature that each society strives to protect and perpetuate its traditions and its aspirations"[16].

Since they were viewed as existing in the very nature of things, national characters tended to be dealt with in the field as 'the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces' or 'factors' that affect the shaping of education and school knowledge. Formulated differently, the forces and factors' school of thought approached cultural context and the history of cultural context in which education was embedded in terms of a causal narrative: they were the 'determinants' and 'causes' of certain forms of education[17].

Thus, as a mode of research and an approach to knowledge, comparative education was envisaged as a multidisciplinary *episteme* devoted to the study of education within its wider cultural and historical context[18].This epistemic strand of the field tried to specify the cultural contexts that are always relevant in shaping all educational forms and knowledge. It was, however, on the margin of mainstream comparative education, which was mainly preoccupied with the modernisation and development of educational systems within a broader functionalist and positivist approach[19].

In the mid-1970s and the early 1980s, there was a shift in comparative education, concerned itself with colonialism, neo-colonialism and cultural imperialism. Within this paradigm, comparative research in education focused, amongst other things, on the specification of the patterns and contents of identities constituted by school practices across colonial settings[20]. However, being concerned fundamentally with economic facets of underdevelopment, it "did not lend itself easily to an analysis of issues of race, culture, language and identity"[21]. Nevertheless, common in all work produced during this period was the sociological view of education as a mechanism for cultural reproduction. For example, in the volume of Brock and Tulasiewicz, the idea of cultural identity was used to explain the role of education in reproducing cultural norms. "The cultural identity of the group is kept up by constant reference to the reservoir of its culture" and "is born of a common heritage"[22].

Although forms of cultural identity became now units of comparative analysis, this notion was still perceived as essentialist[23]. Thus, this new body of comparative literature took the modernist categories 'coloniser' and 'colonised' for granted. It treated the relation between these two categories unproblematically and necessarily as one of omnipotence, neglecting to study the effects of colonialism on the identities of colonising nations. It also gave very little attention to heteroglossia and antinomies regarding identity construction within both the colonial and the metropolitan settings, to the cultural resistance by colonised peoples of imperialist cultural plans and cultural hybridity as a result of these struggles, to the interdependence of national cultures, or to fragmentation of colonial experience along gender, class, ethnic and other lines. That is, it failed to examine all the issues which are now considered to characterise the notion of identity.

2.3 New perspectives on national identity

In the second half of the twentieth century, a set of influential works appeared in the fields of political science, history and sociology[24], signalling a shift in the study of nationalism, "from a primordialist, essentialist notion of the nation to the currently dominant view of the nation as constructed or invented"[25]. Some scholars, such as Hall, see this shift as the beginnings of an emancipatory process of deconstructing national cultures and identities[26]. Others such as Smith speak of this shift in terms of the emergence of a new paradigm of explaining the nature and origins of nations[27]. This is the modernist paradigm which, apart from the thesis of the social constructedness of nations, advocates their modernity. Smith, synthesising the arguments of primordialist and modernist paradigms, suggests that although national identities are modern and constructed entities, the strength of their claims for allegiance derive from that they are build on pre-existing and far older, pre-national *ethnies*[28].

More recently, during the 1990s, a new set of approaches appeared – for example, the work of Bhabha, Billig, Hall, and Wodak *et al.*[29]. These postmodern and postcolonial accounts which appeared in Cultural Studies and Sociolinguistic do not represent a distinct explanatory category of the nation but they employ a constructionist mode of thinking to back and operationalise modernist arguments[30]. For Eley & Suny, these recent approaches have moved the study of nationhood into "the realm of discourse and the generation of meaning"[31]. Specifically, they attempt to explain *how* identities are socially constructed in two senses: what particular modes of social engineering are used to construct them and what elements constitute the metanarrative of the nation. It is the task of this section to provide an account of these most recent developments in the study of nationalism.

National identity as an imagined community

The point of departure of the discussion is Benedict Anderson's thesis of nations as imagined political communities. For him, each and every nation is necessarily imagined because it stretches beyond immediate experience – it embraces far more people than those

with which nationals are personally acquainted and far more places than they have visited. As an abstraction, the nation is frequently imagined as finite, bounded, autonomous and horizontally uniform:

> The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations... It is imagined as *sovereign* because... nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so... Finally it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship[32].

Similarly, national identity can be conceived as imagined. It is a mental construct that creates a sense of solidarity among a group of people by promoting a notion of being part of and sharing a common imagery. It is an artefact emphasising the boundedness of this imagery, providing an imaginary unity against other peoples that exist beyond its borders and from whom the group is felt to be autonomous. It is an abstraction that is conceived as unity, concealing actual divisions and heterogeneity within the national boundaries.

The re-reading of national identities as imagined entities is not a denial of their reality and material effects. Rather, it is the recognition of the fact that they are contingent upon the practices of imagination, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world. As Enoch Powell has aptly put it, "[t]he life of nations, no less than that of men, is lived largely in the imagination"[33]. Since their lives arise partly in the imaginary domain of human activity, memory, myth, fantasy, desire and fetishism, all conjoin in the shaping of their national identities.

Hence, national identities across cultural settings are to be distinguished by the mode of their imagination: by the specific constellations of meaning which are attributed to nations by those they feel that they encompass in a given moment in time and which differ from one community to another. In Anderson's formulation, "communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by *the style* in which they are imagined"[34] (emphasis added).

National identity as a system of cultural representations about the nation

In a similar account to Anderson, Stuart Hall also rejects essentialist perspectives on nationhood, pointing out that the national unity, which every national identity treats as fundamental, is not a natural but an imaginative form of solidarity, always constituted within, not outside, representation[35]. "It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – *a system of cultural representation*. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the *idea* of the nation as represented in its national culture"[36]. In Hall's view, members of a national community know what it is to be national because of the way national identity has come to be represented, as a set of meanings and conventions, by national culture.

Hall further deconstructs the nation by suggesting a view of national identity as "a discursive device which represents difference as unity"[37]. It is a "syntax of hegemony", to use Billig's term, that slides together different identities[38]. Hence, however different the members of a national community may be in terms of class, gender, region, ethnicity, age or race, discursive identity depicts them all as sharing the same features and belonging to the same national family. This apparent internal homogeneity is frequently constituted by forms of cultural power especially repression. "The repressed elements are either silenced or explicitly denigrated and relegated to the margins"[39].

National identity as a system of cultural difference

Although diversity within the nation is often repressed, forgotten or backgrounded in national identities, inter-national differences tend to be foregrounded, remembered and emphasised[40]. Through this focus on 'alterity' and the making of 'strangers', the nation nourishes its own pride, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, conceals its negative action and projects its own paradoxes and antinomies outside itself. In other words, the world of nations, especially by means of the principle of classification, is constructed in terms of binary oppositions, into 'us' and 'them', and, in these polarities, one term is valued more than the other: the one, the 'self', is the norm and the other, the 'others', is the deviant. For van Dijk *et al.*, the practice of positive presentation of 'us' and negative presentation of

'them' is the most important aspect of ethnocentrism[41]. Often, this signifying practice is manifested in stereotyping which reduces 'us' and 'them' to a few, simple, essential characteristics represented as inherent, fixed by nature.

Therefore, any national identity is a meaning structure that is split. As much as imagining the 'self', either implicitly or explicitly, it is also about imagining 'them', the 'others', from whom 'we' are distinct and superior. As Hall puts it, "there is no identity that is without the dialogic relationship to the Other. The Other is not outside, but also inside the Self, the identity"[42]. From a structuralist and poststructuralist perspective, the presence of 'otherness' in imaginings of 'selfhood' is fundamental in constituting and strengthening national sameness. To quote Hall again, "it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the 'positive' meaning of any term – and thus its 'identity' – can be constructed"[43].

Representational modes: national identity and narration

Homi Bhabha points out that a specific mode of representation which has been used to produce and circulate the image of the nation is narration. "Nations, like narratives," he writes, "lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realise their horizons in the mind's eye. Such an image of the nation – or narration – might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea"[44]. Many other scholars put forward the same argument. Martin, for example, points out that "identities by themselves do not exist, they are constructed by identity narratives"[45]. Benwell & Stokoe likewise suggest that "the practice of narration involves the 'doing' of identity"[46]. The quintessence of narrative identity construction, in which the nation is treated as a character in a story, is that the national 'self' draws its identity from the story's plot rather than being described in and through that[47].

In all accounts highlighting narratives about the nation as sites of national identity work, there is also a focus on the multiplicity of identities. In Özkirimli's words, "different

members of the nation promote different, often conflicting, constructions of nationhood"[48]. Hence, "there is no single narrative of the nation"[49]. The idea of multiple identities does not simply refer to the articulation of different narratives by different social groups within a given nation. Nationalist narratives are also constituted according to the sort of social communicative occasion during which they are told and to the historic and institutional location of their narrator(s). The view of identities as situational entities is best captured in Wodak *et al.*'s formulation that there is "no such thing as *one* national identity. We believe rather that different identities are discursively constructed according to audience, setting, topic and substantive content"[50]. In their work, they also show that the various versions of identity in a given society are in relationships of appropriateness and in linkages of complementarity, translation and opposition.

Several implications for conceptualising identities can be highlighted in relation to the plurality thesis. The first is that their construction is often a contested process and the concepts themselves as terrains of contestation[51]. Second, they are characterised by fragmentation, contradictions and hybridity. They are made up out of partial and diverse narrative fragments or strands, of the 'self' and the 'others', that often pull in different directions. Thus, for Martin "the Self is a mixed body"[52]; for Hall "cultural identities are fragmented and fractured"[53]; for Calhoun they are "heterogeneous objects of analysis"[54]; and for Bauman every group identity is "a *palimpsest identity*"[55]. Third, identities are ambivalent entities and there are various kinds of ambivalence. Bhabha argues that they oscillate between tradition and modernisation[56]. According to Hall, they are placed ambiguously between past and future, belonging to the future as much as to the past[57]. Billig speaks of the tension between the particularistic and universalistic claims of the nation[58]. In his various works, Smith finally suggests that they fluctuate between reality and fiction, myth and memory, culture and politics, inclusion and exclusion[59].

National identities, moreover, change shape not only *in space* across social fields, institutions and occasions, but also *over time*. As Eric Hobsbawm points out, "national identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short period"[60]. Similarly, Bauman sees identity "as an *as-yet-unfulfilled, unfinished* task", an idea that "was destined to remain not just perpetually unaccomplished

but forever precarious"[61]. Hall also speaks of identity as a formation in a state of constant flux and identity construction as "a process never completed – always 'in process'. It is not determined in the sense that it can always be 'won' or 'lost', sustained or abandoned"[62]. Hall further stresses that any change in the shape of an identity is always associated with specific socio-political conditions including material and symbolic resources.

Mapping the narrative of national identity

If national identity is now seen as the product of narrative representation, then what is "the cluster of ideas and understandings that came to surround the signifier 'nation' in modern times"[63]? To identify the metanarrative of the nation would enable this thesis to elaborate an even more consistent definition of identity and to then apply it to analyse nationalist narratives in the two settings. More importantly, it would allow the comparative analyst to capture what is common to the construction of national identities across the two cultural settings. Here, it is suggested that a narratively-constructed identity contains *four* main elements.

The notion of *a common national space* is the first pillar. "A nation is more than an imagined community of people, for a place – a homeland – also has to be imagined"[64]. In an account similar to Billig, Smith argues that "[a] landless nation is a contradiction in terms"[65]. In their work, both scholars show that the geo-body of the nation is articulated in a range of ways[66] – as a sacred homeland, a unified entity which starts and stops at demarcated borders, beyond which lie other national territories. It is imagined as a historic and ancestral land, a land that spiritually and organically belongs to its people and a people to its land. It is also imagined as a unique, peculiar, beautiful and self-sufficient land, separating what is 'ours' from 'theirs'. The making of space along these lines is the product of "the territorialization of memory" consisting of two processes: "the historicization of nature" by which land and its natural features become part of a nation's historical and cultural growth, and "the naturalization of history" through which national history and culture are seen to derive from terrain and its features[67].

Second, there is *a collective national time* in any national identity. "If nations exist in space," Smith suggests, "they are equally anchored in time"[68]. The national time is often segregated into three sub-elements – *past, present and future.* That is, the national 'self' is represented as stretching back into the mists of obscure generations of ancestors and forward into the equally unknowable generations of descendants[69]. Of the three facets of time, and more generally, of the building blocks of identity, Hobsbawm, like many others, privileges the past in the making of nation: "[w]hat makes the nation is the past; what justifies one nation against others is the past and historians are the people who produce it"[70]. In the governing myth of the nation, there is an array of important motifs – the focus on the people's origins and uniqueness, the authenticity and superiority of their culture and character, their racial and cultural purity, their longevity and continuity in time, the importance of national autonomy and the negative effects of heteronomy[71]. This myth is told and retold in national stories, literatures, the media and popular culture, and conveys to people a set of tales, images, personages, events, landscapes and symbols about the nation which stand for the shared experiences, sorrows, triumphs and defeats.

A third aspect of identity is the idea of *a shared national culture.* "Modern man (*sic*) is not loyal to a monarch or a land or a faith, whatever he (*sic*) may say, but to a culture", writes Gellner[72]. Similarly, for Martin, the making of any collective identity implies "a selection of pre-existing cultural traits which will be transformed into emblems of identity"[73]. National identity is represented to be the sum of the great artefacts of a 'high culture', as presented in the classic works of literature, painting, philosophy and music, and beyond that, to the everyday practices which make up the lives of ordinary people, to the widely distributed forms of popular music, art, design and literature, and the mass activities of leisure-time and entertainment – what is often called the 'popular culture'[74].

The final aspect of the representation of identity is *a common national habitus.* "National identity has its own distinctive habitus which Bourdieu defines as a complex of common but diverse notions or schemata of perception, of related emotional dispositions and attitudes, as well as of behavioural dispositions and conventions"[75]. Here, instead of the traditional term national character, the notion of national *habitus* is preferred on the grounds that it indicates not something inherent and eternal, but a set of beliefs or opinions,

emotions, attitudes, and behavioural norms that can change from one period to another and that are internalised or individually acquired in the course of socialisation. This notion is also preferred on the grounds that it can be used both as a descriptive tool for analysing narratives, that is, for illustrating how the national habitus as a dimension of identity is constructed in representation, and as mode of theorising identity. Therefore, a national *habitus* goes beyond stereotypical images about 'us' and 'them' to include features such as the willingness to take sides with the nation one has a sense of belonging or the readiness to protect it when one feels it is threatened[76].

National identity as habits of talking and writing

To have a national identity, therefore, is to possess a certain banal, prosaic 'style' of writing and talking about the national 'self' – about the national space, the national time, the national culture and the national *habitus* – which includes at least the elements of sameness and difference. This 'style', which Billig aptly calls "the routinely familiar habits of language", is acting as a reminder of nationhood, making identity unforgettable. In his formulation, " 'we' are constantly reminded that 'we' live in nations: 'our' identity is continually being flagged"[77]. Shotter also sees language as a site of national reproduction. He defines nationality as "a tradition of argumentation, a way of people continually arguing with each other over who or what they are". And, it is "the very fact of their arguing about it [that] sustains their form of nationalism in existence"[78].

However, "rather than being *reflected* in discourse, identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically *constituted* in discourse"[79]. Equally, for Wodak *et al.*, "national identities, as special forms of social identities, are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, *discursively*"[80]. This perspective on national phenomena, which accepts the central role of discourse and interaction as the sites of identity work, is based upon structuralist and poststructuralist linguistic philosophy. This theory sees language not as a neutral medium merely reflecting reality, but rather as a means of creating experience, identities and systems of knowledge about the world[81].

This re-reading of identities as discourses and inscriptions in discourse, frequently called in the literature as the de-centring of the subject from the privileged position of meaning-making, has been criticised on the grounds that it tells little about agency[82]. It reveals little about how subjects interact with discourse and how they may resist, modify, negotiate or reject certain narratives about the national 'self'. In an attempt to rearticulate subjectification to discourse, embracing both the discursive realm and the psychic one, Hall employs the term "identification". Through this term, he re-defines identity as:

> [T]he meeting point, the point of *suture*, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us[83].

National identity can be also conceived as a positional concept. It is *a position of national identification*, the attachment of the subject to what may be called the nationalist subject position. This is constituted by nationalist discourse, either, according to Hall, the discourse of national culture[84], or, according to Calhoun, the discourse of nationalism[85]. This discourse has the 'nation' or the 'people' as its object of signification. Members of a nation identify with this position to which they are summoned and seek to engage or invite others in discourse. This premise – the joining of subjects, both authors and readers, in structures of nationalist meaning – represents a consensus in the literature.

2.4 Implications for comparative educational research

In light of deconstructive perspectives on nations, treating national identity within comparative education as essential, unified and fixed is problematic. Also problematic is the view of education as a mere reflection of the distinctive character, history and culture of a nation. Rather, it is suggested that the emergence of these new theoretical accounts makes urgent a rethinking of how the field treats the idea of identity and its relation to education. It is upon a renegotiated notion of identity and a re-reading of its relation to education that this thesis is based upon in its enquiry into the making of the image of the national 'self' in school histories in Cyprus and England.

From the perspective of postmodern, postcolonial and poststructural theories, it is necessary for comparative educators to start interrogating notions of identity across cultural settings. The point of departure of this process should be a re-reading of this concept as *a form of discourse* and *a product of discourse*. A range of research themes emerges from the view. Of particular relevance is for instance the study of how identities are constituted as primordial units, of how nations and cultures are presented as homogeneous, of how national continuity and singularity are enunciated, of how distinctions between the 'self' and the 'others' are constituted, of how nations and identities are presented as eternal and natural entities. In other words, the implication for comparative education is to engage in investigations of the ways in which nationalist concepts, especially the notions of sameness and difference, are discursively constructed in different places. Such an approach, one that focuses on *how* rather than *what*, is not a usual practice in the educational field including history education. In the literature, national identities are often studied through methods of content analysis which neglect the role of language in constituting content[86].

Another area of comparative study is to examine the ways in which the narrative of the nation is articulated in schools across cultural settings. This type of analysis seeks to sketch what kind of knowledge about the national past and culture the nation's children are to learn; what types of opinions and attitudes about and towards the 'self' and the 'others' are made available to them; what representations of the nation's geo-body they are provided with; and, what sense of destiny in the present and future is cultivated in them. It is through identification with specific readings of time, culture, habitus and space promoted along national lines that children become certain kinds of national subjects.

If comparative education is to start studying the making of national subjectivities, then attention also needs to be given to the investigation of the ways in which pupils are summoned to identify with narratives on nationhood and whether some space is created for them to negotiate, resist, modify or reject national mythologies. This mode of analysis can be extended to cover the ways in which writers of curricular material position themselves in relation to discourses about the 'self'. Here, a fundamental implication for comparative research is to trace and explain possible variations across cultural settings as regards the pupils' interpellation by and the writers' positioning towards nationalist discourse.

Moreover, the 'style' in which national identities are imagined in different places needs not be examined as coherent and consistent. Rather, it ought to start from the view that it is marked by fragmentation, ambivalence, heterogeneity and pluralism, implying that the search for the nature and origins of these features can also be a basis of comparison. This implication derives from the postmodern and postcolonial axiom that the imagery of any nation is fractured and hybrid, a point of struggle and contestation, of ambiguity, dilemmas and paradoxes.

The fluidity of every identity implies a necessity to look at how nationhood is challenged and transformed across cultural settings. The recent works of Vickers and Jones on national identity in East Asia and Schissler and Soysal in Europe provide two examples of the application of such an approach comparatively[87]. However, although the contributors in these volumes analyse changing politics concerning nations, they often neglect the persistence of older entrenched national myths. And perhaps more crucially, they ignore the hybridisation of identification deriving from co-articulations of new and older national images, myths and symbols. The complex juxtaposition of new and old, and the creation of novel hybrids, should also be taken into account.

Moreover, from the stance of recent developments on the study of nationalism, the various signifying practices of education, as of other social fields, are not mere reflections of the unique character, history and culture of a nation. Rather, they are *sites of their discursive production and reproduction, as well as reconstruction and dismantling.* Any instance of written or spoken language use in education, be it a civics lesson, the reading of a poem, a student's essay, a geography textbook or a history map, provided that it has either explicitly or implicitly the 'nation' or 'people' as its privileged object of attention, can be seen as an instance of national identity articulation.

It further derives from the re-conceptualisation of national identity that the role of education is not so much to protect and pass on the nation's cultural inheritance. Instead, its main aim, from the angle of postfoundational narratives, is to participate in the cultivation and transmission of national ideologies to the masses. Some scholars working for instance

in the field of history education, have recently begun to address this aspect of education[88]. In spite of these positive developments, there is still a lot to be done, particularly in developing the theoretical dimension of this work.

In this literature, a rather narrow reading of the nature of the relationship between educational and non-educational formations of identity is also embedded. This link is often assumed to be one of reflection and similarity, one that views identity in schools as nothing more than an external prescription by dominant groups and the educational field as a mere social technology for the dissemination of identities constructed in other social fields. For instance, Koulouri speaks of schoolbooks as "a mirror of the society that produces them"[89] and Green argues that the school was established "to popularize those aspects of national culture and those images of national identity which most appealed to the ruling or ascendant group"[90]. Likewise, for Yun-Kyung, "[t]he definition of legitimate knowledge to be taught in schools, and the selection and hierarchical organization of such bodies of knowledge are thus by and large 'externally' prescribed"[91]. In a sense, the available literature seems to operate within Bourdieu and Passeron's conception of schooling as a legitimising and reproductive mechanism of national culture[92].

Yet, some scholars suggest that educational processes are not a simplistic top-down route in which systems of knowledge promoted by dominant social groups is distributed into classrooms in uniform ways[93]. Rather, the construction of educational knowledge is a process of "selective tradition" in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings are chosen for emphasis whilst others are reinterpreted, diluted, even neglected and excluded[94]. This alludes to Bernstein's principle of recontextualisation[95]. This theory emphasises that a discourse changes shape as it moves from its original site of production outside education to its new positioning as educational discourse. In this view, the recontextualised discourse no longer resembles the original one because it has been pedagogised for transmission. But it is only relatively different as it brings the original discourse into a new ordering, while not totally creating a new discourse.

Here, the implication for the comparative study of identity is to examine both links between educational and non-educational nationalist narratives, notably those of politicians

and intellectuals, and possible variations in these linkages across settings. In many studies, it is suggested that both political and intellectual practices of signification are important sites of identity work. Ward, for example, points out that "ideas of national identity have long been the playthings of politicians"[96]. "It is the intellectuals – poets, musicians, painters, sculptors, novelists, historians and archaeologists, playwrights, philologists, anthropologists and folklorists – who have proposed and elaborated the concepts and language of the nation", Smith writes[97].

Within the educational field, history is a prime subject for the promotion of national identity. It is, as Phillips describes it following Anderson, "the essence of the 'horizontal comradeship' of the 'imagined community' "[98]. The history schoolbook is, moreover, one of the main social locations in which the national 'self' image is materialised. "Embedded in history textbooks", as Foster and Crawford point out, "are narratives and stories that nation states choose to tell about themselves and their relationships with other nations"[99].

Addressing the relationship of nationalist discourses in school histories with those promoted by politicians and intellectuals invokes that marginalised strand of comparative education which has always taken context and the history of context as its starting point. In other words, the centrality of a culturally contextualised and historical approach to the study of educational matters across settings should *still* be relevant today for the field. The value of contextualisation in the study of educational practices and the relevance of cultural and historical specifics in shaping educational knowledge have been reiterated recently by some scholars working in comparative education[100]. The next section tries, amongst other things, to revitalise how the field interprets the relation between education and its wider cultural and historical context via a critical engagement with discourse theory and analysis.

2.5 Discourse as a theoretical and methodological bridge

This section suggests that discourse theory and analysis provide a set of concepts and techniques that are valuable in operationalising the new priorities for comparative study that arise from a re-reading of national identity. It is argued here that the notion of 'discourse' itself can be a theoretical and methodological bridge across the two settings

under study. Its analytical power lies in that it can capture what is common in Cyprus and England – the discursive construction of national identity – and at the same time, does not gloss over "history, culture, conflict and difference, the themes that make comparative education intellectually interesting"[101]. It also lies in that it builds bridges not only across cultures but also between disciplines, micro and macro levels of analysis, theoretical and empirical study – the themes of "a neo-comparative education"[102].

Identifying and describing discursive national identities

The style in which national identities are imagined in these places can be identified and described through three interconnected levels of analysis: the level of propositional content, the level of discourse strategies, and the level of linguistic realisation. This framework of analysing discourses about the national 'self' is mainly informed by the work of Wodak and her colleagues[103] and has its origins in Foucault. He defines discourse as a group of statements about a specific topic whose organisation is regular and systematic, consisting of "all that was said, in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its development, indicated its various correlations, [and] judged it"[104].

- First, there is the level of topics. The purpose of discursive analysis here is to reveal the thematic choices of and the messages encoded in nationalist discourse. Its contents are organised in terms of the four categories of narrative identity presented and defined earlier – the category of 'time', of 'space', of 'culture', and, of 'habitus'.

- The second level of analysis is the level of strategies. Following the Austrian strand of Critical Discourse Analysis[105], a strategy is defined as the particular, conscious or unconscious plan adopted by writers or speakers to achieve the aims of constituting and conveying primarily national unity and difference in relation to the categories of time, space, *habitus* and culture. Yet, identity, as said earlier, is also about the construction of a range of other nationalist notions – continuity, uniqueness, superiority, autonomy, and so forth. These concepts are also promoted by certain strategies.

- All these strategies are of a constructive nature – i.e. they attempt to enact a certain kind of identity by promoting sameness, difference, continuity, and so forth. There are also strategies of perpetuation (that aim to maintain, defend and reproduce a national identity) and transformation strategies (changing a particular identity and its pillars into another one). All these types of strategies stem from a view of discourse as having simultaneously constructive, transformational and perpetuating functions[106].

- There is another cluster of strategies – those of involvement or detachment, and those of intensification or mitigation[107]. The former set refers to how writers or speakers express their involvement in or detachment from a represented nationalist discourse and position their point of view in the discursive flux. The latter set is applied to qualify or modify the epistemic status of a nationalist proposition and to express its commitment to truth. These sets of strategies are related to and can be used to examine the way hearers or readers are summoned to identify with nationalist discourse.

- Third, there is the analysis of the linguistic means and devices involved in the expression of contents and strategies. The two layers, contents and strategies on the one hand, and language on the other, "are connected via the process of 'realisation': lexico-grammar 'realises' semantics, the linguistic 'realises' the social"[108]. A central dimension of the linguistic realisation of nationalist discourse is what may be called the lexicon of identity. As Billig notes, "the crucial words of banal nationalism are often the smallest: 'we', 'this' and 'here', which are the words of linguistic 'deixis' "[109]. This means that a given nationalist discourse is expected to construct narratives of time, space, *habitus* and culture, as well as of unity, continuity, difference, singularity, in specific ways realised linguistically through specific vocabulary choices.

Locations of national identity work

Moreover, an identity discourse can be traced in 'texts'. In Kress' terms, "texts give material realisation to discourses. Hence the meanings of texts are in part the meanings of discourses which are present in and have given rise to a specific text"[110]. Lemke further points out that as products of particular discourses, texts will in some ways be alike in their

meanings. "These texts will always also be different as well each will be in some ways unique"[111]. Their uniqueness partly stems from the different 'genre' they belong to – the different conventionalised form of language use which is associated with a social communicative occasion and its specific goals, functions and participants. "Texts are therefore doubly determined: by the meanings of the discourses which appear in the text, and by the forms, meanings and constrains of a particular genre"[112].

Hence, the notion of 'genre' can be utilised to explain in part why school historical discourses of identity as materialised in textbooks and those promoted by politicians and intellectuals may differ. For example, as a certain type of genre, the history textbook is related to goals which differ from the aims of a political speech or an academic history. Their different orientations are then expected to give rise to different identities. The idea of 'linguistic realisation' could also be useful in identifying and explicating differences in the making of identity between school history and narratives of politicians and intellectuals. Even if a particular proposition or strategy is the same in these fields, its expression in language may differ. In other words, both concepts can be useful devices in examining the claim that there is no such thing as one identity in a given society.

For Lemke, text and discourse are, furthermore, complementary: "[w]hen we want to focus on the specifics of an event or occasion, we speak of the text; when we want to look at patterns, commonality, relationships that embrace different texts and occasions, we can speak of discourses"[113]. Similarly, national identity as a form of discourse is materialised in a range of texts and occasions in a society. Partly this is due to the productive capacities of discourse. Any discourse entails certain possibilities for practice of the knowledge that it generates. Put in another way, the way one thinks and speaks or writes about the world affects the way in which one acts upon it. It is thus through the invention of a web of social practices and technologies that "a discourse colonises the social world imperialistically"[114] and "needs [then] to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body"[115]. This insight may be valuable in renegotiating how to think and examine the relationship of education and its broader context, notably with the intellectual and political fields. It is through certain practices and technologies, such as the teaching of history and history textbooks, that political and intellectual discourses on nationhood circulate in the

social body. But as they move, it has been argued earlier, they are decontextualised first and then recontextualised, and transformed in certain ways.

Conditions for national identity construction: the context of possibilities

Images of identity are to be found in a range of texts in a certain society also because these are produced and emerged within the same cultural and historical context. Theories of discourse formation can be also valuable in an attempt to study the conditions that govern and regulate the system of dispersion of nationalist textual statements.

Discourse, as Fairclough and Wodak point out, "is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration"[116]. Blommaert elaborates that the concept of context is to be construed "as *conditions* for discourse production"[117]. This position echoes again Foucault. For him, context constitutes the rules of discourse formation and operates as a regime of possibilities, permitting, and at the same time, constraining what can be thought, said and written, in the case of this thesis, about who 'we' are. In this view, the context does not determine a specific image of the nation but rather "what enables it to appear, to juxtapose itself with other objects, to situate itself in relation to them, to define its difference, its reducibility, and even perhaps its heterogeneity; in short to be placed in a field of exteriority"[118].

For this thesis, the production of the national image in any instance of language use associated with the national 'self' is a historically and socially contingent and situational praxis depending on a number of contextual layers: the topic to which an instance of identity constitution is related; the social occasion and its specific features (aims, functions, participants etc.) as well as the broader institutional setting in which this instance takes places; and, the wider society and its historical trajectory, including pre-existing historical and contemporary nationalist narratives, in which the making of identity is embedded. This view of context is mainly informed by the work of Wodak and her colleagues[119].

However, a discourse is not merely shaped by the contextual reality in which it is embedded. It is moreover constitutive of that reality, signifying aspects of the world and constituting social relations in certain ways. As Fairclough and Wodak put it:

> Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. To put the same point in a different way, *discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped*[120] (italics added).

This view of context differs from and offers opportunities to revitalise older approaches of comparative education to the study of cultural and historical context. From the position of discourse theory, the link between 'the things outside the schools' and 'the things inside the schools' is re-read in terms of *a dialectic*: 'the things inside' *are shaped by* 'the things outside', but simultaneously, they are *constitutive* of them. In other words, any educational instance of nationalist language use is now construed as "the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history"[121]. By the insertion of history into a text, Kristeva means that identity absorbs and is built out of available conventions from a society and its history. By the insertion of this text into history, she means that identity reworks the available meanings of that society, and in so doing, it helps to make history by contributing to processes of change in the image of the national 'self'.

The above reading of context also implies that the relationship of education with its broader context is *not* one of determinism – 'forces and factors' as 'determinants' of forms of and knowledge in education. Instead, this motif of the historical comparative literature is re-conceptualised in terms of *possibility*. That is, 'forces and factors' define a context of possibilities for the representation of nationhood which at the same time delimits the possibility for other ways of constructing knowledge about the national 'self'. Trying to trace conditions underlying the making of a nationalist discourse is an activity much less fixed, certain or transparent than the older deterministic arguments. In other words, this concept is more locally-sensitive, more inclined to capture the vast complexity of the emergence of a nationalist discourse and to leave room for conditions yet to be identified, and points to the limitations of interpretation.

Yet, the line between 'contexts of possibility' and 'causes' is very thin and fuzzy. Larsen, employing a similar distinction in her work, notes that ways that bring together these two ideas without resorting to determinism must be developed[122]. Perhaps a fruitful way to resolve this problem is to look for context in texts themselves rather than arbitrarily decide about them on the grounds of the available literature. This suggestion partly derives from Fairclough's concept of interdiscursivity – that any discourse is defined by its relations with others, both synchronic and diachronic, and draws upon others in complex ways[123].

This concept could also be helpful in examining and understanding both the hybrid and ambivalent nature of national identity – meanings from diverse nationalist discourses can be combined not always effectively to create a discursive identity – and the possibility of change over time in national identity construction – old and new nationalist narratives can be articulated together in many ways creating new mixes of nationality. Combined with recontextualisation, interdiscursivity can also explain in part identity differences in space, across social domains in a given society. That is, recontextualisation creates conditions for interdiscursivity to occur.

2.6 Conclusion

Through a critical engagement with the traditions of comparative education, recent developments in the study of nationalism, and, discourse theory and analysis, this chapter has argued that a discursive perspective on the construction of national identity provides a framework for the comparative analysis of this concept in Cyprus and England. Its study as a form of discourse and a product of discourse includes a number of layers or dimensions of discursive analysis:

- National identity refers to a group of statements which provide a particular 'style' of imagining, representing and constructing knowledge about the national 'self'. It can be described in terms of contents (notably the categories of 'culture', '*habitus*', 'time', and 'space'), strategies (the most crucial being those of constructing intra-national sameness and inter-national difference) and linguistic realisation (the lexicon of national identity).

- Particular identity constructs are associated with particular contexts. Understanding the context to which a certain discourse of identity is related means that the focus is not on why but on how it becomes possible for certain clusters of nationalist narratives to be produced at a particular historical moment. The search for context of possibility accepts the possibility of a range of different readings of the nation at that time.
- A national identity is produced through and within the signifying practices of certain social agents associated with certain social fields, as they interact with specific contexts of possibility in which their practices are embedded. Three important sites of identity construction are the domain of history education and the political and intellectual fields. Different social fields of action in a given society enact different national identities.
- A specific national identity articulated within a certain social field is synchronically related to other fields through both interdiscursive relationships of appropriateness and relationships of translation, opposition or complementarity. It is also connected to pre-existing identity discourses diachronically, seeking to either reproduce and perpetuate or to transform and even deconstruct them, or at least certain of their meanings.
- A discourse of national identity constructed within a specific social field encompasses certain possibilities for practice of the nationalist meanings that it generates.

Based on this discursive constructionist perspective, the thesis will try to analyse the notion of national identity across the two settings of Cyprus and England, starting with a historical account of identities in each setting and analysing the contexts that made their articulation possible.

Endnotes

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CHAPTER THREE

Contexts and discourses: a genealogy of national identity in Cyprus and England

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to offer a view over time of national identities in Cyprus and England, seeking to define both the identities and the socio-political contexts that made their articulation possible. As suggested in Chapter Two, discourses about the national 'self' can be traced in a range of signifying practices and institutional sites within a given society, and be described with reference to the categories of content and strategies, and also according to how they are expressed. In any discursive national identity, the issue is how it is imagined, from what resources, by whom, and for what.

This chapter advances the argument that *an arena of dual positions or constructs of national identification* was historically constituted in the two places – British and English in England, Greek and Cypriot in Cyprus. The Cypriot and the British position correspond to the civic-territorial model of nationhood. This model defines identity along 'subjective' factors – a shared *patria* of laws and institutions, a common territory, citizenship, and, a civic religion understood as a body of political objectives, traditions and values common to all nationals[1]. On the basis of these elements, Cypriotness integrates Greek and Turkish Cypriots into a Cypriot *Staatsnation*, and Britishness' integrates the English, Irish, Welsh and Scots into a British civic nation. Thus, both identities are inclusive of ethnically diverse groups depending on their voluntary participation in the community's political creed.

In contrast, the Greek and the English position correspond to the ethno-cultural model. This stresses 'objective' criteria of national belongingness – common descent and culture defined by religion, language, customs and arts[2]. On the strength of these resources, Greekness constitutes a Greek nation and promotes the membership of the Greeks of Cyprus to this community, excluding the Turks of Cyprus. Likewise, Englishness assumes an English *Kulturnation* and rules out Celtic membership into it, on the grounds of Anglo-

Saxon descent and culture. Here, then, both identifications are exclusive and rather passive: they are inherited, not chosen.

Yet, for many scholars, any attempt to establish these identity forms as descriptive and prescriptive categories of analysis is problematic[3]. They stress that no civic identity has probably ever arisen without the assistance of cultural factors and no ethnic nationality arises purely from a common culture without the assistance of any political factor at all. Another problem is that identities change shape over time and so often partake of elements of both types. Sometimes civic elements prevail while at other times it is the ethnic pillars that are stressed. Hence, in the course of applying this rather idealised typology in the two places, attention will be given in tracing possible *ethnic* features in Cypriot and British identities, and *civic* ones in Greekness and Englishness.

It is finally argued that due to certain historical specificities in the two settings – the English were a colonising people, while the Greek Cypriots were a colonised people – their identification acquired certain context-specific features. While the British/English positions were invested with imperial meaning, the Greek position was associated with irredentist denotations. The imperial or missionary identity type accentuates the role of an ethnic group as carrier of the political, cultural or religious mission of a multiethnic empire in the world[4]. The irredentist form revolves around the idea of subtracting territory from one state and adding it to another[5].

The chapter is divided into four sections, each corresponding to a particular position of the arenas. The first looks at the configuration of Greek identity and attempts to define its building blocks. In the second section, the constitution of Cypriot identity is examined. The third section focuses on the British nationality, trying to identify its core features. In the fourth section, the emphasis is on Englishness and its key pillars.

3.2.1 The ethnic and irredentist construct of Greek identity

There appears to be a scholarly consensus that the religious identity of Orthodox Christians in Cyprus was reconstructed into a Greek national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century[6]. Often, this transformation of collective 'self'-conception is

explained in literature as the result of the interplay of two factors: first, the creation of the Greek state and its nation-building project, and second, the advent of British colonialism (1878) with a secular programme of modernising Cyprus. Specifically, it is suggested that Greek identity in Cyprus was firstly articulated in Greece and then was transferred to the island. In the course of its re-embedding in the Cyprus context and interaction with colonial particularities, this identity also acquired a cluster of Cypriot-specific meanings. Therefore, Greekness in Cyprus and in Greece have certain commonalities but also certain differences.

In a number of studies, Kitromilides develops the argument that the Greek state, in the time following its creation in 1830, embarked on the construction of a national identity in the process of nation-building[7]. In this project, the state had inherited, from the writings of the European and Greek Enlightenment, a purified version of Greek language and the theories of Hellenic descent – the modern inhabitants of Greece as the descendants of ancient Greeks – and a Greek golden age in classical antiquity. The national awakening thesis, assuming that the nation was a primordial entity but remained dormant until its regeneration in the 1820s, was also deployed to understand the present and its link to the classical past.

Against the vision of classical Hellas stood however the Christian ecumenicity of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the hostility of the Patriarchate in Constantinople with its alternative thesis of the inhabitants of the Byzantium as God's chosen people and a Byzantine golden age. In the second half of the nineteenth century, always according to Kitromilides, the antinomy between the particularistic claims of nationalism and universal Christianity was overcome and the Byzantine Empire and its religious tradition were incorporated into the canon of Greek nationality[8]. Though it was abetted by folklore and archaeology, this integration was significantly the product of historiography and notably the work of Paparrigopoulos, the national historian of Greece. In his *History of the Greek Nation*, he articulated the cultural continuity of the Greek nation: from ancient Greece through the medieval Byzantium to modern Greece[9]. The state acclaimed and distributed this theory that gradually became the main mode of interpreting the past in the discourse of Greek identity.

Alongside emphasising common ancestry, language and unity in time, there are a number of other central themes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century discourse of Greekness[10]. First, Orthodoxy was an integral component of what it meant to be Greek, and the newly-nationalised church was depicted as guardian of the nation. Second, the notion of Greco-Christian civilisation was articulated to represent the nation's authentic culture, connoting national superiority based on ancient Greece's political, artistic and intellectual glories and the religious greatness of the Byzantium. The third feature was the disparagement of the Turkish 'other' – as barbarians and decadents – and, by contrast, the apotheosis of the Greek 'self' – as civilised and democratic, heroic and altruistic, loyal to the faith and nation.

The touchstone of Greek identity during this period in terms of the nation's future destiny and present mission was the *Meghali Idea* (Great Idea)[11]. This was an irredentist aspiration and programme for the liberation of Ottoman lands held to be historically Greek and inhabited by ethnically-Greek populations. It was, in Kitromilides's words, "a project for the resurrection of the Byzantine Empire in the shape of an expanded modern Greek state"[12]. The Great Idea was built upon and justified by the historical theory of national continuity but was abandoned in the inter-war years, after the Asian Minor Catastrophe[13].

Thus, the Greek state came to represent the national centre of a broader imagined community called Hellenism, signifying the entirety of the Greek ethno-cultural nation living both within and outside Greece – what Veremis aptly calls "the stateless nation"[14]. This means that its nation-building project had two dimensions: the internal that referred to the promotion of national unification within the state's territory, and the external that entailed the cultivation of a sense of belonging to Hellenism among the Greek-speaking and Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, Asia Minor and Cyprus[15]. The external dimension was carried out by such mechanisms as schooling, the consular system and intellectual organisations.

In her study on nationalism in Cyprus, Bryant shows that a great deal of evidence for the adoption of Greekness by the Christian inhabitants on the island at the turn of the twentieth century is found in the signifying practices of politicians, intellectuals, the media and the Orthodox Church[16]. The motifs that had been reproduced and became the central

features of the new identity in Cyprus were the rhetoric of race, of redemption and restoration, and of the defeat of the Turk.

The language of race was associated with positive 'self'-presentations and negative 'other'-presentations that aimed at vaunting the virtues of the Greeks and vituperating the faults of the Turks. Through these two strategies, the Turk was attributed a set of debasing traits such as trickery, flattery, despotism, aggression and cruelty. The Greek, in contrast, was positively typified as intelligent, democratic, hard-working, honourable and loyal to Orthodoxy and Hellenism. The language of race also involved a strategic focus on national differences between the Greeks and the Turks centred on the concept of culture: the in-group was bearers of a distinctive and superior civilisation, while the out-group was barbarians and possessors of no civilisation[17].

Bryant points out that the rhetoric of regeneration entailed the desire for the liberation of all Greeks still under Turkish yoke and the defeat of the Turks who stood in the way of the Byzantine restoration, preventing thus the full realisation of Greek unity in space. The imagery of the Turk as the eternal enemy of Hellenism was, in her words, "the hallmark of ethnic consciousness"[18]. The identification with the idea of Turkish enemy that had been produced in Greece led, in Cyprus, to "the unsuccessful attempt of many Greek Cypriots cognitively to separate the Turks as conquerors from the Turks as neighbours"[19]. In fact, Greekness assimilated the Turks of the island into the community of the Turkish nation and de-emphasized or suppressed their similarities with the Greeks of the island.

Many other scholars identify similar transfers of nationalist meanings from Greece to Cyprus in the period between the 1870s and the 1950s. For example, Kitromilides and Attalides demonstrate that political and intellectual discourses about Greek nationhood on the island drew on such elements as the inseparable bond of Orthodoxy and Hellenism, the idea of the Church as guardian of nationality, the theory of national continuity in time, the two golden ages of the Greek nation and the national awakening thesis[20]. Both scholars maintain that the (re)production of this kind of knowledge aimed at mobilising the people for political ends, that is, to support the movement for *enosis*, or union, of Cyprus with Greece.

Other components of identity that had been imported were the allegedly superiority of Greek culture, language and history; the rhetoric of redemption in the form of *enosis* and the thesis of 'our' glorious and civilised ancestors. These motifs are proposed by Loizos who also defines the reasons for and the groups advocating them[21]. The primacy of culture and descent was employed by the literate urban elite as a means of arguing for inclusion into colonial senior bureaucracy from which they were excluded. The excellence of language and history was utilised by teachers as they were trained in Athens and their job depended on transmitting Hellenic ideals to the youth. The politics of redemption were adopted by the Church to re-assert its authority over the Orthodox community which was threatened by the introduction of secular institutions of governance by the British.

By the 1920s, and as a result of the penetration of Greekness in Cyprus, the masses of the Christians had "come to feel as Greeks"[22]. Two events frequently cited by scholars in support of their claim that the majority of the population identified with the discourse of Greek identity are the mass riots of 1931 accompanied by the demands for "freedom from England" and "union with Greece", and the Church-organised plebiscite of 1950 in which 97% of the eligible voters voted for *enosis*[23].

Whilst it is possible to discern a cluster of common features between Greekness in Greece and in Cyprus, Greek identity on the island also manifested itself in divergent ways and forms, acquiring certain local meanings. "The meaning of Greek irredentism", as Kitromilides remarks, "was not identical inside and outside Greece"[24]. Likewise, Bryant notes that "while adopting narratives from the 'motherlands', Cypriots adapted these" to the local situation[25]. To illustrate this point, four Cypriot-specific features of the Greek identity on the island are extracted from the literature and discussed below.

The first, and perhaps the central pillar of this identity for the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, was the polysemous notion of *enosis*. In the milieu of colonialism, it was associated with an image of the present marked by trials and signified the future fate and present duty of the Greeks of Cyprus – to fight against the colonialists for union with Greece[26]. It also carried connotations of liberation, material progress and proper political order and was framed in terms of justice as it meant the fulfilment of a historical destiny[27]. With the rise of a labour movement, *enosis* acquired an anti-communist bias and was seen

by church and right wing elites as a fight against imperialism and communism[28]. Following post-war British proposals for self-government, *enosis* ruled out Cypriot autonomy and was gradually transformed from a desire into an uncompromising demand. It was this line of thought that led to the EOKA armed struggle of 1955-59 against the British – from which the leftists, as non Christians, were excluded[29]. In the context of independence (1960), and following conflict with Turkish Cypriots who voiced for partition or *taksim*, *enosis* came to mean double-union, in other words, the division of the island between Greece and Turkey[30]. The late 1960s saw its redefinition and investment with two rival meanings: union at some point in the unspecified future vs. union now[31].

The second aspect of Greek identity in Cyprus was a specific reading of the island's past. The first major component of this interpretation was the theory of the hellenisation of Cyprus and the Greek origins of its people. According to this theory which was articulated by British archaeology in the early twentieth century, Cyprus was colonised in the Late Bronze Age by the Mycenaeans and was completely hellenised, i.e. homogenised along Greek racial, linguistic and cultural lines[32]. Its second main pillar was the thesis of the persistence of a pure Greek culture, race and identity on the island since that time, despite the de-hellenising efforts of the various peoples that made their way to Cyprus or conquered it at different times[33]. This historical representation was promoted by academic historians and served to legitimise the *enosis* movement. Another feature of this historicity was the equation of the history of Cyprus and the history of the Greeks on the island giving thus scant attention to the Turkish Cypriots. This changed in the period 1960-1974 when the thesis of the Greek descent of the Turkish Cypriots was constituted to counter their demands for self-determination[34].

The third local characteristic of Greek identity was the positioning of the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus within the Greek nation. This motif of belongingness was frequently expressed through the strategy of accentuating sameness on both 'subjective' factors, for instance an anti-Turkish sentiment and affiliation with Hellenism, and 'objective' elements, such as descent and language. Similarities in terms of 'high' culture were articulated by philologists and folklorists in their ethnographic research into the past and present culture of the Greek Cypriots[35]. Linguistically, the unification strategy was realised for example by the deictic 'we' and by metaphor – that of the Mother Fatherland Greece – which were

repeatedly used in poetry, arts and speech during the 1950s[36] and by the term 'Greeks' and its corresponding adjective 'Greek' that were exclusively utilised in historiography[37].

The fourth core pillar of the Greek identity was a tendency, explicitly or implicitly, to dismantle alternative readings of the Greek people's origins, history, culture and land. For example, one of the purposes of Greek popular historiography in the 1920s was to deconstruct the proposition that the Cypriots were Phoenicians and their culture of an Oriental or Eastern character[38]. This view was articulated by imperialist archaeology in the late nineteenth century[39]. Greek Cypriot academic historiography was likewise directed against the British perspective on Cypriot history, which represented the past as a pedigree of subjection[40]. This reading established that the Greeks on the island were a *mélange* of various races and cultures that needed the benevolent guidance of the imperial nation. A final example is an attempt to deconstruct a Cypriot identity. "Cyprus does not belong to the Cypriots ... but Cyprus belongs to the whole of Hellenism", Spyridakis, the then Minister of Education, declared in the early 1960s[41]. This utterance rules out the existence of a Cypriot homeland separated from Hellenism. Instead it highlights "the average Greek Cypriot insistence that the island is 3,000 years Greek, that the soil, sea, and sky are Greek"[42].

3.2.2 The civic and territorial configuration of Cypriot identity

The view that there is a Cypriot people with Cyprus as its homeland was amongst the fundamental pillars of a Cypriot discourse on peoplehood. Unlike ethnic and irredentist discourse of Greek nationhood, Cypriotness resembles the political and territorial model of nationality. It stresses Cypriot autonomy, focusing on civic duties, economic benefits and social interests. It also employs territory and the state as its building blocks, and projects a single Cypriot people that includes Greek and Turkish Cypriots and that is separated from the Greek and the Turkish nation.

The analysis of the construction of this type of identity was neglected in academic literature until recently and this was, according to Peristianis, due to the belief that the cultivation of a Greek identity was a barrier to the growth of Cypriotness[43]. Attalides offers a rather different explanation for this neglect: because this identity remained largely on the margins of Greek Cypriot society and on level of diffuse awareness, being mainly produced

in the expression of views by individuals, as well as because it never became structured and expressed as a concrete political ideology despite that the conditions for its emergence were present[44]. In Mavratsas' terms, "Greek Cypriot nationalism has been the dominant force in the island's modern history"[45].

The beginnings of Cypriot identity are frequently located in leftist publications of the 1920s and especially in the rhetoric of the Communist Party of Cyprus[46]. This identity was conceived in opposition to the Greek one and its core pillars included a focus on discrediting certain pillars of Greekness, notably *enosis*, as the aim of anti-colonial struggle and the island's future destiny; an emphasis on the creation of an independent Cypriot state under a worker-peasant government; an attempt not only to re-define collective identities using the notion of class but also to unify toiling Greeks and Turks on the basis of shared socio-economic interests and the duty to fight against imperialism, the Church and the bourgeoisie. The attachment of the peasants to religion, their dependency on the Church together with the absence of a proletariat in conditions of underdevelopment were, however, major obstacles for people to identify with this alternative position of identification[47].

In his work, Given highlights another agent of Cypriot identity – the colonial state in Cyprus[48]. The idea of a Cypriot nationality was largely the government's response to the hegemony of Greek nationalism on the island. Drawing upon imperialist archaeology and employing the strategies of stressing cultural heterogeneity and omitting Greek cultural influences, state officials projected a Cypriot hybrid culture that derived from the synthesis of Byzantine, Western European and Oriental styles. For the colonialists, the Cypriot *mélange* had also racial associations. The Cypriots were neither Greek nor Turkish nor an amalgam of the two, but a degenerate and corrupt island race without any original character, emanating from the recurrent heteronomy of the past. A final defining characteristic of this state-constructed identity was the view that the Greek Cypriots were not descendants of the Mycenaeans but of an indigenous people called Eteocypriots who lived alongside Greeks and Phoenicians in antiquity. Stressing non-Hellenic origins, a past of subjection, an inferior hybrid culture and an amorphous racial mixture without a distinct *habitus*, this identity discourse was in effect a denial of (any) identity serving to justify colonialism. "A myth of Cypriot nationality", as Attalides comments on the local response, "would be invented in order to perpetuate British rule in Cyprus"[49].

Alongside leftist and colonial narratives of Cypriotness, there was, in Mavratsas' terms, "a liberal modernist Cypriotism"[50]. This was promoted by a small section of the bourgeoisie, notably Lanitis, one of the leading industrialists of Cyprus, and represents, according to Attalides, the most developed account of this identity before 1974[51].

Prior to independence, this group founded the Party of Progress, advocating self-government and cooperation between Greeks and Turks as the preconditions for the socio-economic modernisation and progress of the island. After independence and prior to the inter-ethnic conflicts of 1963-67, Lanitis spoke of one people that included both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and constituted their identity in terms of political and socio-economic contents and through the use of strategies focusing on Cypriot unification and autonomy[52]. Specifically, he appealed to both groups for cooperation emphasising their constitutional interdependence, the economic benefits to be derived from autonomy and the importance of political stability for their prosperity. He further stressed their duty to strengthen autonomy depicting it positively as making them "masters in our own house". In Lanitis' writings, the call for Cypriot solidarity was also expressed by warnings against inter-ethnic violence, predicting the destruction of Cyprus, as well as by discrediting the divisive aspects of the constitution and attributing the blame for these to the "*enosis* and only *enosis*" policy.

Lanitis also defined this identity in terms of separateness from Greece and Turkey on the basis of a Cypriot culture, without denying however the Greek or Turkish descent and cultural heritage of the island's inhabitants[53]. Here lies one of the major constituent elements of Cypriot identity. On the one hand, the tendency to bring similarities between Greek and Turkish Cypriots to the fore, which at the same time constitute markers that set them apart from Greece and Turkey, and on the other to de-emphasise their differences, which serve to unite the two groups with their respective 'mother-nations'.

Finally, Lanitis challenged the entrenched and hegemonic discourse of Greekness on the island by opposing *enosis*. This was manifested in expressions such as: "[w]e do not have to be united with Greece politically because we are Greek culturally" and "[w]e can still be Greeks without *enosis*"[54]. Implicit here is an attempt to reconcile Greek culture and attachment to Hellenism with Cypriot citizenship and loyalty to the Cypriot state, through a

notion of dual identity. Despite the very few instances of efforts to resolve the tension between these two different identities, the general rule is that Greekness and Cypriotness were antagonistic discourses, being characterised by links of opposition and exclusion such as *enosis* vs. independence, Cyprus belongs to Hellenism vs. Cyprus belongs to the Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots as enemies vs. Turkish Cypriots as compatriots.

On the other hand, with reference to studies on national identity in Britain and England, it is suggested that appropriation and inclusion tend to define the relation between the British and English identities. In Kumar's words, "Englishness and Britishness are so interfused as to be virtually indistinguishable"[55]. At the same time, there is also scholarly consensus that these two identity constructs have also distinctive features. The next section seeks to define them as well as the sociopolitical contexts within which they emerged.

3.3.1 The civic and imperial formation of British identity

Colley points out that a British multinational identity was articulated in the period between the Act of Union (1707) and the accession of Queen Victoria to throne (1837)[56]. For her, the foundation that made the invention of Britain possible and that held it together until at least the mid-twentieth century was Protestantism, particularly the assumption that Protestants were God's chosen people assigned the task to spread the Gospel in the world. Other scholars, however, cast doubt on whether religion could be the basis of British solidarity and point to the absence of a British Church, the exclusion of Catholics and the theological divisions within Protestants in order to back their claim[57].

But Coley elucidates that the unifying quality of Protestant faith was its Catholic bias[58]. The Catholics were associated with derogatory prejudices – superstition, despotism, immorality, treachery, disobedience, ingratitude, poverty, corruption. This set of debasing traits drew upon earlier religious memories and myths, such as the defeat of the Spanish Armada, St Bartholomew's Day, and Guy Fawkes' plot, that were integrated into the idea of British nationhood and helped to generate a positive image of a typical British *habitus*. In contrast to Latin Europeans, Protestant Britons were stereotyped as tolerant, democratic, free, moral, honest, prosperous, loyal and fair-minded. The strategy of stressing difference, between 'us' and 'them', was evident in a range of state institutions and their practices. As

Davies puts it, "the historic task of the United Kingdom was to foster a common sense of national belonging among people who had previously identified themselves exclusively with England, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland"[59].

Along with Protestant covenantalism and Catholic xenophobia, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britishness included the image of an enemy from without, the French, posing threats to national autonomy, and thus, of Britons as an endangered nation[60]. It also included the notion of wartime patriotism that denoted both a duty to resist French expansionism and an allegiance to the State and Crown. In the first half of the twentieth century, the importance of patriotism was still emphasised. For instance, see the slogans "for king and country", and "your Britain, fight for it now", even if the French were replaced by the Germans as the hostile 'other' that threatened the nation[61]. In fact, regular warfare with Europeans had the dual effect of ascribing negative connotations to the term 'Continent' – "a thoroughly alien place, at best troublesome and at worst hostile" and "the place where most of the tyranny and cowardice in the world originated"[62] – and of making people believe that "foreigners start at Calais"[63].

Coley further stresses that a plurality of ethnic, regional and social class identities remained within Britain and that a British identity did not come into being because of an integration of disparate cultures. Instead, Britishness was superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to conflict with the French 'other'[64]. What she appears to dismiss here is the view that a common British culture also represents one of the building blocks of Britishness. This is advocated by other scholars, for example Hechter, who sees the genesis of such a culture in terms of the English core imposing its cultural hegemony on the Celtic periphery[65]. Robbins also speaks of a shared British culture but remarks that this emerged out of a blending of the different ethnic cultures contained within the borders of Britain. Although there was a process of integration, "diversity was not eliminated and few sought to eliminate it"[66].

Moreover, the discourse on British nationhood emphasised commonalities between the English, the Welsh and the Scots in terms of *patria* and civic religion. As many scholars argue (for instance, Wellings and Ward), Britishness focused on the British State, being

principally a state-based identity[67]. The promotion of this identity was aimed at constituting British subjectivities and legitimising the existence and authority of the state.

In particular, this body of scholarship emphasises that what it meant to be British was defined by the long-standing and relatively stable institutions of the Constitution, Parliament and Monarchy. The unwritten constitution was held to be marked by longevity and gradual organic evolution. It was not an artificial creation based on abstract principle as in Continental Europe, but one built on tradition, shaped by the national past and reflecting the essential character of the people and safeguarding their intrinsic liberties. The idea of parliamentary sovereignty was the keystone of the constitution, establishing that only the parliament had the right to make and unmake any law. Thus, the past was articulated as a story of progress from an ancient constitution towards the balanced one of the present, and the attributes of a British *habitus* were constituted in political terms. They included an inclination to liberty and justice, the respect for authority, hierarchy, order and the rule of law, the values of tolerance, sincerity and moderation in politics, and above all, loyalty to the British *patria*. Finally, the monarchy, derived from the Anglo-Scottish union of the crowns (1603) and celebrated in a variety of splendid rituals and ceremonials as Cannadine illustrates[68], was depicted as the most potent symbol of the nation, enhancing themes of national unity and continuity, proper political order, and Christian and family values.

Langlands points out that many of the components of Britishness were drawn from English ethnicity[69] which also became the main source of an ethno-cultural Englishness (see next section). She claims, for instance, that the constitution and parliament "are thoroughly English in character"[70]. Likewise, the theme of British traditional liberties is appropriated from the English constitutional conflicts of the seventeenth century. To quote another example from her work, Britishness also draws on the sixteenth century depiction of England as a Puritan chosen people entrusted by God with the mission to defend true faith against popish enemies and to export it in the world.

The point that the myth of English ethnic election was a key constituent of British nationhood is also stressed by Smith[71]. From his work, two more propositions backing the claim that the English element was central in Britishness, can be inferred. First, a dissenting English Protestantism provided a potent rationale for the British mission of civilising the

inhabitants of Africa and India; and, second, the reading of Britain as an unconquerable fortress has been amongst the most potent of England's historic ethnoscapes.

The primacy of Englishness in Britishness is also apparent in the espousal of the English story of constitutional growth as British history. As Cannadine puts it, "during the heyday of the *British* state, nation and Empire, it was the *English* version of Whig history which was the prevailing mode"[72]. It is also manifested in the idea of a British culture mentioned above. Conceptualised either as an imposition or as a blending, " 'British' culture", argues Hall, "does not consist of an equal partnership between the component cultures of the UK, but of the effective hegemony of 'English', a southern-based culture which represents itself as the essential British culture, over Scottish, Welsh, and Irish and, indeed, other regional cultures"[73].

Kumar, although he subscribes to the thesis that British identity draws upon English ethnicity and nationality, suggests that "Britishness was not and is not mere Englishness, Englishness writ large"[74]. In support of this claim, he points to industrialisation. The Industrial Revolution was a pan-Britannic achievement, with all the constituent parts of the United Kingdom contributing to it[75]. British identity, from the 1750s and onwards, acquired industrial, technical, commercial and urbanised connotations – features which Englishness does not possess. In the rhetoric of political elites, Britishness was also related to industrial and trading superiority – indicated by such expressions as "the greatest manufacturing and trading nation", "workshop of the world", "the world's first industrialised nation" and "great in manufactures and commerce"[76].

The Industrial Revolution, Kumar further argues, produced a British working class and a British labour movement, linking workers across the Isles in a shared pursuit of their socio-economic interests[77]. An outcome of this struggle "was the creation of the welfare state that itself became a symbol of Britishness"[78]. The British welfare state is a manifestation of a shift in British identity in the decades following the end of the Second World War. From a focus on Britain as a carrier of a worldwide civilising mission, it shifted "towards an emphasis on Britain as a moral nation strongly committed to the welfare of its people"[79]. An essential feature of this identification was pride in the institutions of the British welfare state – the nationalised industries, the British Broadcasting Corporation,

trade unionism, and above all, the National Health Service, in the creation of which the Scots and Welsh, alongside the English, had played a prominent role[80].

Ward points out that overseas expansion was also "a joint venture: it was a British rather than an English empire"[81]. The Empire played an essential role in forging the British nation and formed a key part in Britons' sense of their identity. "[T]he identity of Britain", as Robbins notes, "was predominantly conceived as 'imperial' "[82]. In his work, MacKenzie has shown that a complex conception of imperial Britishness was produced and reproduced in the period between 1880 and 1960 in literature, the churches, music hall, theatre, propagandist societies, exhibitions, cinema, commercial advertising and political parties[83]. Here, five interrelated features of this identity are discussed.

There is, firstly, the construction of the nation's present and future in terms of a common duty, to spread civilisation to the non-European peoples[84]. The language of the civilising mission served to explain and justify the existence of the Empire. The imagery of the 'self' as agents and bearers of material progress, spiritual liberation and religious truth, and of their empire as a force for good and a vehicle for improvement were also embedded in this missionary rhetoric. Furthermore, Davies highlights that imperial rule was often articulated as "beneficial for all, in particular for the godforsaken 'slum-dwellers' and 'heathen' of less fortunate countries"[85].

The destiny to lead less fortunate peoples was linked to a belief in the superiority of British race and culture[86]. The underlying assumption of this belief was a mythology of superior governance: the British possess higher governmental skills and ideals of liberty and justice, and their political institutions, which were derived from the long legacy of freedom placed as early as the Anglo-Saxon times, were perfect[87]. Also embedded in this conviction of racial and cultural superiority was also "a hierarchical view of the world, in which the British occupied a pre-eminent place among the colonial powers, while those subjected to colonial rule were ranged below them in varying degrees of supposed inferiority"[88].

The strategic focus on the superiority of the colonising 'self' was also accompanied by the negative representation of the colonised 'other'. Many studies establish that within the regimes of imperial representation, the colonised were positioned as uncivilised savages

and barbarians, as lazy and child-like natives, and as warlike and vicious tribes. Moreover, their state of being was invested with disparaging qualities such as mischief, autocracy, poverty, superstition and violence[89]. The projection of disordered societies and backward peoples is the third component of imperial Britishness. It belongs to a strategy of stressing difference between 'us' and 'them' including the locus that 'they' were inferior compared to 'us' and further serves to legitimise the need for their guidance by a benevolent imperial power.

The concept of a typical *habitus* was the fourth core element of British identity. For Davies, "the imperial ethos"[90] was described by devotion to monarchy and state patriotism. It included the themes of self-restraint setting apart Britons from their Continental neighbours marked by extravagance and public displays of private emotions. It was also defined by the will to rule over others, as well as a sense of duty to family, the local community, the nation and all humanity with the idea of dutiful life being based on the middle-class principles of frugality, self-denial, hard work and civic responsibility.

There is finally the idea of the British as a world-wide nation and their identity as diasporic. This is suggested by such scholars as Cohen and Marshall who show that the colonies of white settlement – Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa – were seen as an extension of the British nation overseas[91]. Britons at home and abroad were held to be unified by common obedience to the Crown, the same language, shared ideals of liberty and religion, similar political institutions, by descent and race, by economic interdependence, by sports and by unity formed by the sharing of arms in two world wars. Thus, Britons, as Robbins sums up, "were insular and global: they were not continental"[92].

As said earlier, English ethnicity was a key foundation upon which British identity was largely built. This, however, was not a one way relationship. "As 'Englishness' played a large part in the creation of 'Britishness', " says Wellings, "so too...'Britishness' affected the meaning of 'Englishness' "[93]. Britons, it was also suggested, saw themselves as being embarked on a mission to take civilisation to 'lesser breeds'. For the English, there was the sense that they were centrally placed in the achievement of this task, and there was considerable satisfaction expressed, and pride taken, in England's leading role as an agent of civilisation and progress[94]. Besides the British Empire, a second factor shaping English

identity was the British State. The English, argues Crick, "took for granted that the main business of domestic politics ... was holding the United Kingdom or 'Britain' together"[95].

There was, however, no systematic attempt to overtly articulate English singularity, for this would have threatened the integrity of the state and empire that they perceived as their inventions. In other words, the identification of the English with larger entities (state and empire) and larger causes (civilising mission and the maintenance of polity) muted a narrow Englishness, " 'hiding' English identity by making it implicit in manifestations of 'British' identity" and leading to a blurring of the distinction between 'England' and 'Britain' and between 'English' and 'British'[96]. This, however, was to change – albeit to a limited extent – in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

3.3.2 The ethnic and imperial construct of English identity

In an inquiry into English identity, Hastings points out that "one can find historians to date 'the dawn of English national consciousness' (or some such phrase) in almost every century from the eighth to the nineteenth"[97]. His own thesis on the dating of Englishness places its origins in the later Anglo-Saxon times. Greenfeld claims that "by 1600, the existence in England of a national consciousness and identity, and as a result, of a new geo-political entity, the nation, was a fact"[98]. Kohn, however, dismisses the idea of a sixteenth-century Englishness and sees instead the seventeenth century and in particular the Puritan Revolution as the time when it emerged. The revolution, he says, "lifted the people to a new dignity, of being no longer the common people, the object of history, but of being the nation, the subject of history, chosen to do great things in which every one, equally and individually, was called to participate"[99]. Newman, finally, claims that, rather than British identity, what developed in the eighteenth century was a vigorous English identity. "By 1789 the making of English nationalism was over"[100].

For many others, the idea of Englishness is anachronistic for any period before the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth century[101]. These scholars stress that it was only when perceptions of alterity began to shift and religion started to decline, only when new rivals threatened Britain's industrial supremacy and faith in the Empire began to waver, that a discourse on English nationhood was articulated. And, it was only when ethno-cultural

nationalism – that is, the idea, as Hobsbawm suggests, of every nation as a self-sufficient, organic entity with its own history, its own language, its own culture, and its own character – emerged in European politics that the making of this identity was made possible[102]. This historical contingency opened up the possibility for what Kumar calls "the moment of Englishness"[103]: the construction of an English national identity.

Unlike Britishness that frequently stresses unity between the British peoples, the focus of Englishness tends to be the disassociation of the English from the Welsh, Irish and Scots. Its major agent was a group of composers, novelists, painters, political theorists, historians and poets. In their inquiry into the English as a nation, the English intelligentsia cultivated a distinct English historicity, promoted the people's Anglo-Saxon origins, typified a unique English *habitus*, forged a common culture based on the English language and literature and celebrated the southern rural countryside as the 'real' England. But these developments, as Kumar argues, were strictly limited and low-keyed by comparison with other European nations, and "occurred to a good extent in isolation, and often with a marked unawareness of and indifference to what was taking place at the same time in other spheres"[104]. This relatively unsystematic constitution of the English nationhood, he further asserts, produced a "diffuse and imprecise Englishness".

The five core components of the position of English identification – certain notions of time, descent, *habitus*, culture and space – are examined in details below.

The first key pillar of Englishness was the Whig interpretation of history: a story of ancient and timeless English freedom that had been a constant feature of English history[105]. This understanding of the past was the product of the narrative historiography of the late nineteenth century, notably the writings of Macaulay, Freeman, Stubbs and Green. These historians articulated the English past as a story of the continuous and cumulative growth of constitutional liberties and representative institutions as a series of chronologically arranged episodes, such as Magna Carta, the Reformation, the Civil War, the Glorious Revolution, each broadening out from precedent to precedent and leading to greater and greater degrees of freedom and democracy[106]. This form of national history drew on the late seventeenth century Whiggism, notably the myth of Magna Carta as the foundation of the liberties of all people, the belief in the tradition of parliamentary rule limiting the Crown and stretching

unbroken from the Middle Ages, the theory of the free Anglo-Saxons and the ancient Teutonic constitution, and, the Norman yoke thesis that had unsuccessfully attempted to stifle these earlier liberties[107].

As the beginning of Whig historicity, the theory of a golden age of primordial and imperfect Teutonic freedom highlights the descent and foundational story of the English. They were seen, according to Floyd, as descendants of the Angles and Saxons who came to Britain from the north-central Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries and settled in the south-east, bringing with them their institutions of governance and laws[108]. This migration was described in positive terms, as the defeat and expulsion of the lesser Britons by the greater invaders, and as the substitution of an indigenous, inferior Romano-British culture by a Germanic, superior one. The evolution towards a democratic state and the creation of an empire were also seen as being grown out of England's Teutonic heritage and Germanic racial qualities[109].

This interpretation of state and empire as English achievements was promoted specifically by imperialist historiography[110]. Tory historians such as Seeley and Froude shifted attention away from Parliament and the constitution towards the English state and its expansion. In this understanding of the past, the English were positioned as an imperial people in a double way: they created a land empire, the United Kingdom, the Empire of Great Britain or the British Empire in Europe, and an overseas empire, first in North America and the Caribbean, and later in India, South-East Asia and Africa.

In the Anglo-Saxon myth of origins, "the concept of race is [also] central"[111]. It was only the English who were assumed to be heirs to the primitive freedom and traits of the Angles and Saxons. As Celts, the Welsh, the Irish and the Scots were excluded from that legacy and *habitus*. In other words, there is here perhaps the most essential component of Englishness – a strategic emphasis on difference between the English 'self' and the Celtic 'others' on the basis of origins, culture, history and racial character. As Kumar argues, "English national identity gained much of its definition and contours from the contrast with the 'barbarous Scots', the 'wild Irish' and the 'lazy and fatuous Welsh'. The allegedly brutish, treacherous, lawless and immoral Celt was a stereotype which for long provided the

English with a reassuring self-image" as a civilised, rational, restrained, vigorous, honest, moral and plain-speaking people[112].

Kumar further asserts that differentiation from Continental neighbours at different times and in relation to different themes have also provided the English with a self-image "whose only constant feature is English superiority"[113]. Thus, in contrast to the fanatic and autocratically governed French, they congratulated themselves on their love of freedom and justice, respect for law and hierarchy, and inclination to tolerance. German pomposity and militarism were also contrasted with English simplicity and individualism. In contrast to the wild abstractions and futile speculations of continental thought, English habits of thinking were held to embrace empiricism, pragmatism, concreteness and hard-headedness. Finally, confronted with what they saw as political instability, centralisation, violent revolutions, and disruption of life, the English stressed their autonomy, bit-by-bit reform, the slow accumulation of changes that came by trial and error, the avoidance of revolution and the continuity of their history. Therefore, "the English were so marvellous", as Robbins sums up, "because of the way they handled politics: that is to say, not like Europeans"[114].

Thus, as presented by the English intelligentsia, the singularity of the English in a world of nations lay precisely in their historical trajectory and the liberal inheritance deriving from this development. "This fortunate legacy had enabled it to become the richest and most powerful country in the world"[115]. Likewise, Cannadine points out that ordered and inexorable progress towards parliamentary democracy, the avoidance of revolution, the gradual domination over the Celtic fringe and the winning of an overseas empire were manifestations of English exceptionalism[116].

While the story of a growing liberty and of the state and its internal and external expansion were held to be core elements of English identity in the practices of academic historiography and political thought, Englishness was defined within other institutions such as university departments of literature and language, in terms of cultural criteria. "For many people," Kumar writes, "literature – not Parliament or the monarchy – *was* England"[117]. The emergence of Whig historicism was paralleled at this time by what Collini calls the "Whig interpretation of English literature": the articulation of a national literary tradition held to embody and express the finest values of the people and their most typical ways of life –

England's unique culture[118]. Dodd notes that the establishment of a single language was the necessary condition for the institution of an English literary tradition. Therefore, the English was nationalised and standardised in the same period and "a national Whig history of the language" was written to convey its continuity[119].

Many authors take the view that the characteristics of the southern countryside and the forms of a vanishing rural life were also placed at the centre of English identity during this period: "the most essential thing which *is* England is the Countryside, the Market Town, the Village, the Hedgerow Trees, the Lanes, the Copses, the Streams and the Farmsteads"[120]. In its rural form, this identity was linked with the locus of a beautiful place. This *topos* generates images of England as a land of small towns and cathedral cities set among green rolling hills, interspersed with the ruins of old castles or abbeys. It also evokes images of cottages and county houses, rivers and valleys, rustic sounds and smells, and, images of happy life centred on the green, the pub and the church – the imagery of England's green and pleasant land. This tendency to see pastoral landscape and way of life as the 'real' England was also evident in the interwar period after the trauma of the Great War, and is still evident today, for instance, in tourist postcards[121].

Alongside the focus on the countryside, the interwar period saw the re-constitution of the English nation along less imperial and official lines and more inward-looking, more private and more domestic. The English, Alison Light argues, were reinvented as members of an essentially unassuming nation, a quiet, private, and ordinary people, defined by their modesty, kindness to others, loyalty, truthfulness, straightforwardness, and simplicity[122]. This quieter, more introspective, mode of imagining themselves was also reflected in and promoted by historiography[123]. In the writings of historians such as Trevelyan and Bryant, there was a move away from the political accounts of history and a preoccupation instead with sociocultural history, with the manners, customs and everyday lives of ordinary people. In this reading of the English past, the English identity was seen to inhere in the practical, individualistic, even eccentric and amateur style of English craftsmen through the ages.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has offered a view over time of identity in Cyprus and England. It argued that an arena of dual discursive positions of national identification was historically constituted in the two settings – Greek and Cypriot in Cyprus, and English and British in England. The description of the positions in civic and ethnic terms was rather problematic, thus confirming criticism levelled against this typology of nationalities. Each of these four positions of identification, as has been shown, encompasses elements from both identity types. Here, both irredentist and imperial types are redefined and considered as particular sub-types of civic nationhood, in the sense that the civilising mission and the demand for *enosis* are features of a common civic religion.

But the view of nationality as discourse, notably the idea that it is inter-discursive in its constitution, allows the thesis to overcome the problem of construing the nature of these identities to a large extent. Each identification within and across the settings incorporates elements from both political-territorial and ethno-cultural nationalist discourses, blending them together in complex ways to construct its own heterogeneous, ambivalent and often contradictory order. This point is fundamental for an understanding of how identity is constructed across the two settings and will feature throughout the thesis, especially when history textbooks as well as intellectual and political text and talk will be analysed.

The discursive approach to the construction of national identity also permits the thesis to rethink of how to understand comparatively, both within and across the two settings, imaginings of the 'self'. Three concepts are of usefulness here: the notion of discourse strategies, of discursive relationships between the dual positions of identification in each arena, and, of contents of discourse.

First, it is perhaps more fruitful to think about identity construction in Cyprus and England in terms of the discourse strategies, especially those of sameness and difference, that are used by each position in the arena. The pattern that emerges from the evidence presented in this chapter is as follows:

- Strategically, the Greek position tends to distinguish the Greek from the Turkish *ethnies* in Cyprus by highlighting their differences and veiling their similarities; and at the same time, tends to integrate the Greek ethnicity into the Greek nation by promoting their sameness and ignoring their difference.
- Likewise, the discourse on English nationhood frequently employs strategies of setting the English apart from particularly the Welsh, the Scots and the Irish, of de-emphasising similarity between the non-English British and the English, and of stressing solidarity within the English nation.
- In contrast, Britishness often tries to fuse the four nations of the Isles together into a single British national community by overplaying their unity, by downplaying intra-national heterogeneity within Britain, and by enacting distinctions between Britons and non-British 'others'.
- Similarly, Cypriot identity seeks to incorporate Greek and Turkish *ethnies* into a Cypriot people through the strategies of stressing their shared features, of minimising intra-Cypriot difference, of separating them from 'others', notably Greece and Turkey, and of backgrounding their commonalities with mainland Greeks and Turks.

In all four types of identity (Cypriot, Greek, British, English), the discursive construction of sameness and difference within and between 'us' and 'them' can be based upon both civic and ethnic motifs.

Second, national identity construction in the two settings can be also thought of in terms of inter-discursive links between the dual positions in the arena. In the Greek Cypriot case, although instances of relations of appropriateness and inclusion between Greek and Cypriot identities were reported, the tendency was that they are marked by connections of opposition and exclusion. This implies *a sharp boundary* between Greekness and Cypriotness within the arena. It also means that the discursive perspective of national identity is useful in illustrating what is often described in the relevant literature as the ideological clash between Greek nationalism and Cypriotism in the Greek Cypriot dispute over identity[124]. This clash takes place in the arena and is mainly apparent in the discourse content categories of 'past', 'present', 'future', 'descent', 'culture', 'space' and 'habitus', in the sense that each position attempts to fix their meaning in its own specific ways. Hence,

these categories, and more generally, the combined category of 'people' or 'nation', can be conceptualised as *zones of conflict*.

On the other hand, appropriateness and inclusion tended to describe links between English and British identity in England, albeit occurrences of opposition and exclusion were identified. Thus, and unlike the Greek Cypriot case, the boundary between these two positions in the arena is rather *fuzzy*. This means that the notion of inter-discursive relations is a useful device in explaining what is often described in the literature as the confusion and conflation of national identity in England: English or British?[125] The source of this matter is the ambiguity of the meaning given to the discourse content categories of 'past', 'future', 'destiny', 'culture', 'habitus', and more generally, 'nation' or 'people', in the sense that their fixation of meaning is the same within the English and the British position. In contrast to Cyprus, therefore, these categories can be understood as *zones of ambiguity* in England.

This chapter has also shown that the arena of identity in the two places went through transformations over time. For instance, with the rise of communism in Cyprus, the Greek identity was invested with anti-communist prejudice. In the context of colonialism, Cypriot identity denoted a duty to fight for the creation of an independent state. This had changed in the 1960s with the declaration of independence and the duty was now to safeguard Cypriot autonomy against the claims of Greek and Turkish nationalisms. Similar identity shifts were documented in England. To mention an example, British/English *habitus* acquired a motif of military amateurism during and between the World Wars in contrast to German militarism, and the French threat to national autonomy was replaced by the German. In the apogee of the Industrial Revolution, Britishness was defined in industrial, urban and labour terms. After the end of the Second World War, it was associated with the welfare state.

In other words, the chapter confirms two extra views from the literature: that national identities are not static concepts but can shift over time, even in the course of quite short periods, and, that they are related dialectically with the sociopolitical context in which they are embedded. The next chapter seeks to further illustrate that identities are dynamic and fluid concepts, which are articulated as members of 'imagined communities' interacting with the context in which they are located.

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CHAPTER FOUR

New discourses of national identity in Cyprus and England: the perspective of politicians and intellectuals

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to address the question of how certain sociopolitical changes in the two settings affected the discursive construction of national identity through an exploration of political and intellectual text and talk. In Cyprus, these changes are the Greek and Turkish military offensives, and the subsequent territorial, political and ethnic division of the island. In England, they include the retreat from the Empire, the settlement of ethnic groups from the New Commonwealth in England, the membership into a united Europe, and Britain's relative political and economic decline.

There are four interrelated arguments in this chapter. The first argument is that these changes opened up a new space of possibilities regarding the representation and construction of national identity, making it possible for politicians and intellectuals in Cyprus and England to imagine their respective communities in new ways.

The second argument is that new discourses of identity were articulated in both places. In Cyprus, civic-territorial elements used along with strategies of emphasising Cypriot unification tended to prevail in the new discourse, alluding to Cypriotness. In England, on the other hand, ethno-cultural elements and strategies of stressing intra-British difference were often employed in the new discourse, evoking Englishness.

At the same time, ethnic elements and strategies of emphasising intra-Cypriot difference drawn on Greek identity were also evident in the new discourse in Cyprus, while territorial-civic (including imperial) elements and strategies of stressing British unity drawn upon British identity were also manifested in the new identity in England.

The fourth argument adds another layer of hybridity and ambivalence to the new discursive positions of national identification across the settings. They both drew upon pre-

constructed nationalist motifs from their historical trajectory and constituted new ones deriving from the interaction of politicians and intellectuals with the new socio-political contexts of writing and talking about the national 'self'.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first examines the main sources and the most important themes and strategies of the new identity formation in Cyprus. The second part is a sketch of the major sources of national identity in England as well as its main topics, propositions and strategies.

4.2 Discursive constructs of national identity in post-1974 Cyprus

This section aims to sketch how the collective 'self' was imagined in political and intellectual practices of signification in Cyprus after 1974 and until 1993, the year where a coalition government led by the right-wing party of DISI came to power. This period, notably after President Makarios' death (1977), is marked by the administration of a coalition between the communist party of AKEL and the parties of the centrist DIKO and the socialist EDEK. In relation to nationalism, "few would challenge the cyprocentrism of AKEL and the hellenocentrism of DISI, with EDEK and DIKO positioned somewhere in the middle"[1]. Thus, the state was a main actor promoting a Cypriotist discourse in this period[2].

The reconstruction of identity was also associated with the founding of the New Cyprus Association in 1975[3]. Composed by intellectuals and professionals from the educated elite of Cyprus who had studied in Western Europe or North America, the Association was aimed at promoting Cypriot autonomy. A central feature of this group is that its members were drawn primarily from the Left and Centre. The neo-Cypriots also co-organised three academic conferences about Cypriot politics and history in 1976 and the papers were afterwards published in three volumes[4]. It will be shown that these works, notably the volume *Cyprus Reviewed*, were influential in articulating a set of meanings that became gradually the official version of the past and future.

In particular, this section seeks to identify the most important themes and the main strategies of national identity in the signifying practices of Centre-Left politicians and intellectuals. Of the five main content categories discussed in Chapter Two, the constitution

of a national space hardly appears in their writing and talking. Instead the focus is almost exclusively on the articulation of a national time – a shared past, present, future. Also important is the projection of a collective *habitus* and culture, two categories which are often embedded in the making of a Cypriot people.

4.2.1 The projection of a Cypriot people

The practices of the New Cyprus Association: a multiethnic people

For many scholars, the writing of the Neo-Cypriots offer ample evidence of the making of a Cypriot people that encompasses *all* ethnic groups of the island including Greek and Turkish Cypriots[5]. The unity of this people was primarily predicated on civic elements – a Cypriot *patria* with a set of shared political aims and aspirations; the notion of Cypriot citizenship; a common territory as the 'homeland'; a Cypriot *habitus*; and, shared historical experience. It also included the motif of a hybrid Cypriot culture. Often, the strategies employed to articulate this people were emphasising similarity between Cypriot *ethnies*, de-emphasising their differences, stressing their singularity, and differentiating them, notably Greek and Turkish Cypriots, from the Greek and Turkish nations, respectively.

The idea of a Cypriot people and the strategies used to constitute this idea can be inferred from the Association's founding declaration. "In this place, we – Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites and others – reside, and despite differences, real or forged, we share common interests and purposes that define our identity as Cypriots, and which only we, as inhabitants of the land, can understand and protect"[6]. Here, Cypriot solidarity is conveyed by the group-making devices of the deictic 'we' and its possessive pronoun 'our', by the group category 'Cypriots', and by the term 'identity' generating a collectivity with 'common interests and purposes': the safeguarding of the Cypriot state perceived to be in danger of dissolution and the territorial reunification of Cyprus. Through the adverb 'only' that carries connotations of exclusivity, sameness is also articulated as difference between the Cypriots and others, implying the inhabitants of Greece and Turkey. Finally, the conjunction 'despite' serves to show off the similarities of the ethnicities and to play down their differences.

Alongside constructive strategies, transformational strategies were used, either explicitly or implicitly, to modify certain contours of the entrenched national identities on the

island. An extract from the same declaration reads: "[a]lthough we cannot forget our national descent and our cultural links, we must rethink, as one people, our life from the beginning. To start thinking first as Cypriots and then as Greeks or Turks"[7]. The key of this quotation is the verb 'rethink' which triggers a view of identity as a matter of choice. This linguistic means is used to urge the population for a necessary and radical change in terms of thinking about their identity. In the past, 'we' imagined 'ourselves' as 'Greeks or Turks'; for the present and the future, 'we' must give priority to a Cypriot identity over Greekness and Turkishness. Hence, the Association did not attempt to dismantle the theory of the Greek origins and culture of Greek Cypriots; on the contrary, its reproduction had the effect of perpetuating it. Instead what they tried was to understate its importance, making prominent the one people thesis.

In neo-Cypriot practices, there were several important content-related changes in identity construction. The propositions that the island belongs to the Greek nation becomes "Cyprus belongs to all its people and only its people"; that the history of the island is Greek or Turkish is reformulated as a history that "is not identified fully with the Greek and even less with the Turkish"; that the cultural character of the island is Greek or Turkish is transformed into "the mosque and the church bell are an indivisible aspects of our land's character"; that Greece and Turkey are the motherlands becomes "as their homeland Cypriots have only Cyprus and the conception of motherlands does not exist"; and, that the term 'Cypriot' is synonymous with that of 'Greek Cypriot' becomes "Cypriots are all those who are tied with this land"[8].

An effort to reconcile the tension arising from the co-articulation of elements from Greekness and Cypriotness via a notion of dual identity is also evident in neo-Cypriot discourse. "Hence, for example, the Association accepts that we, the Greek Cypriots, have common cultural elements with Greece (and the Turkish Cypriots with Turkey), but we do not have common political elements with Greece and Turkey"[9]. The linguistic manifestation and key pillar of this dual identity is a 'yes, but' argument in the sense that 'yes, culturally we are similar to the Greeks, but politically we are different and independent'. This locus is also a rearticulation of an entrenched motif of nationalist discourse – because 'we' are Greeks culturally, 'we' should be politically united with the Greece – and thus, an implicit attempt to deconstruct *enosis*.

In the above excerpt, the way in which the deictic 'we' is used also reveals the ambivalence characterising the neo-Cypriot discourse of identity construction. In its first occurrence, 'we' constitutes 'Greek Cypriots': Greek nationals that happens to live outside Greece. In its second occasion, it generates a Cypriot civic community, which both Greek and Turkish Cypriots belong to. In other instances, 'we' includes all ethnicities of the island, constituting an overall position of identification that oscillates between 'Greeks', 'Greek and Turkish Cypriots', and 'all Cypriots'.

The Association also draws on a hybrid Cypriot culture to deduce a Cypriot people. In the following extract this notion is conveyed via strategies of stressing unity, uniqueness and differentiation from other peoples. "Cypriotism, then, is the unique characteristic of the Cypriot people. The amalgam of elements and characteristics that distinguishes them from other peoples, including the Greek and the Turkish, and which is the result of the symbiosis of the Cypriots in the territory called Cyprus, the interaction between the communities and the particular historical trajectory of Cyprus"[10]. This culture consists of a number of distinct features originated from the various civilisations which made their way through the island. Thus, from a historical perspective, this conceptualisation of culture alludes to British efforts to combat *enosis* by promoting a Cypriot nationality based on a diverse Cypriot culture. In Given's words, "the Cypriot *mélange* has been reinhabited by post-colonial society"[11].

The Association further projected a Cypriot *habitus*. Both positive and negative traits are ascribed to a typical Cypriot, which is often contrasted to an evoked Greek or Turkish character. An extract from a neo-Cypriot document called *13 questions and answers* reads: "[m]oreover, Cypriotism, in contrast to Turkism or Hellenism, refers to the characterisation of the Cypriot by the lack of wickedness, naivety, the consistence and honesty in his/her interactions, his/her over-tolerance and laziness"[12]. Apart from a distinct mentality, other traits of Cypriot character, as is deduced from other parts of this document, are patriotic allegiance to Cyprus as state and land; love for freedom and democracy; and, hatred for nationalism and chauvinism. This *habitus*, rather than reflecting reality at the time, was often articulated for the future. It was seen as "an indispensable prerequisite for the correct evolution of our society"[13].

The political-official discourse: a bi-communal people

The idea of a distinctive Cypriot people and identity was also manifested in, or moved into, the political discourse of the state[14]. One piece of evidence cited in support of this claim is the emphasis laid after 1974 on the symbols and commemorations of the state that had been marginal since its creation. For instance, the Cypriot flag began to be displayed on public buildings next to the Greek one, and Independence Day to be celebrated as a commemorative ritual along with Greek national holidays. Further official expressions of Cypriotness can be found for example, in the usage by President Vasiliou of the terms "Cypriot people" and "one people" to refer to the population of the island and the depiction of the Turkish Cypriots as "our compatriots".

The colonialisation of state ideology by the notion of a Cypriot people is also illustrated with the following example from a speech delivered by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs at a Cyprus conference in 1976. At the same time, this excerpt shows how this notion often differed in official rhetoric from the neo-Cypriot: the neo-Cypriot image of a multiethnic people becoming one of a bi-communal people in state politics:

> Cyprus belongs to its people and its people are Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. They have lived together in harmony for many years in the past, they have toiled together and they have jointly reaped the fruits of their efforts. In their common struggle for progress and prosperity they have been guided by the surrounding geographical data and in their turn they have influenced geographical factors. Common are their roots and common is their destiny. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are bound to live and cooperate together[15].

The unification strategy through which Cypriotness is constructed is dominant here. It is realised in a range of linguistic modes, such as the recurring epithet 'common', which serve the purpose of fusing the two communities into one people. Cypriot unity is based on common struggles for progress, common achievements and peaceful coexistence in the past, on rootedness in land and on the will to live together. The motifs of a common destiny in the future and a past of symbiosis were main features of political rhetoric[16].

If this passage is placed within the historical context of its production, another central feature of political rhetoric can be uncovered – an attempt to transform the entrenched Greek identity (or at least certain of its main pillars) into the historically-marginalised Cypriot

identity. Specifically, the propositions that Cyprus belongs to Hellenism, that its people are Greek, that their destiny is to be united with Greece, and that the Turks do not belong in Cyprus are transformed into the views that Cyprus belongs to its people, that its people are Greek and Turkish Cypriots, that common is their destiny to live in a re-united island and that common are their roots in Cyprus.

4.2.2 The making of a common present and future: the Cyprus problem

Many scholars suggest that the Cyprus problem, and its causes and solution, has monopolised the making of a common present and future since 1974[17]. By means of a locus of a terrible place, the present tends to be evaluated in negative terms, as a problem of invasion and occupation, of suffering, of dislocation and colonisation, and of territorial and ethnic division that involves both Greek and Turkish Cypriots as 'victims'. One of the means of the expression of this locus is a certain negatively-denoted lexicon (see italics added):

1. As a result of the Turkish *invasion*, 40% of the island is under foreign *occupation* and over 200,000 people have become *refugees* in their own land.
2. The Turkish Cypriots in the *north* seem to have joined their compatriots in the *south* as *victims* of Turkish occupation.
3. The *colonisation* of the *occupied area* by mainland Turks aims at the forcible change of the island's age long demographic character.
4. Cyprus is today *suffering*. But it is resisting and struggling with perseverance and an upright spirit for its physical and national survival.

Two more points can be made regarding the image of the present. First, statement four draws attention to two extra interlinked loci used to articulate this image: the locus of a people under the threat of physical annihilation, and the locus of a people resisting and struggling for survival. Cassia shows that these loci habitually occurred in President Makarios' oratory, especially in the commemorative rituals of the coup and invasion[18]. These motifs were also evident in other state officials' talk as and in neo-Cypriot texts[19].

Second, the phrase 'the island's age long demographic character' (statement three) and the epithet 'national' (statement four) can be interpreted as alluding to the Greek identity, notably the view that Cyprus and its people have been Greek since time immemorial. Hence, Greekness itself was also perceived as being in danger and that the 'self' was also carrying out a struggle to resist what is frequently described as 'the turkification of Cyprus'. In other words, a perpetuation strategy was used in the representation of the present and its intent was

to maintain a threatened Greek identity. This strategy was utilised to reproduce several other aspects of Greekness. In political texts, the invasion was often qualified by the adjective "barbarous" which harks back to the established image of the Turkish 'other' as brutal and decadent. To cite another example, Turkey also appeared within political talk as "adversary", a lexical choice that conjures up the image of the Turk as the archetypal enemy of Hellenism.

Central in narratives of the present is also the making of a Cypriot *habitus*. This notion is evident in statement four, which generates inferences of a proud people who were defying Turkey. Apart from defiance and determination for struggle, a typical Cypriot is defined by patience, endurance and dignity; on the basis of respect for democracy and love for liberty; in terms of self-reliance and confidence, that 'we' are capable of modernising the state and creating conditions for prosperity; by a feeling of pride in the social achievements of the state and the academic, business and artistic brilliance of Cypriots living abroad; and, above all, by a patriotic allegiance to state and land[20]. This particular *habitus* was also offered as a repository of beliefs, behavioural dispositions and emotional attitudes for the people's emancipation from the unbearable present. They were, in the words of the Minister of Finance, "all those values which are necessary for a struggle of survival in this land"[21].

Attributing blame for the problem: the construction of 'others'

A second important topic in the making of a shared present was the attribution of blame for the problem. Often, this is ascribed to the Turkish perennial expansionism and the role of external forces[22]. In intellectual and political text and talk, references to both factors can be found, but the stress placed on each factor differs, as well as the meaning given to each. Also, causal explanations of the problem tend to be addressed in a relativising way, to be accompanied by the production of enemies, and, to oscillate between the perpetuation and transformation of national identity.

In his speeches, Makarios repeatedly talked of "dark malevolent forces" which committed a "treachery" against the people and which led to "the barbarous Turkish invasion", and, of "Turkish bulimia and aggression that has brought disaster and grief to our land and our people"[23]. The lexical choice of 'dark malevolent forces' suggests the theory of foreign conspiracy, according to which Cyprus was the victim of the Greek Junta and its

collaborators, EOKA B and CIA. Those of 'bulimia' and 'aggression' evoke the thesis of Turkish expansionism which stresses that, being an inherently expansionist nation, Turkey has always wanted to capture Cyprus and used the coup as a pretext to achieve its long-standing aim[24]. This articulation of blame exonerated implicitly the 'self' from responsibility for their role in partition through omission and by shifting the guilt to external factors.

Greece's responsibility for the problem is also trivialised by being projected onto 'the junta' – i.e. a particularising synecdoche replacing a semantically wider term (Greece) with a semantically narrower one (junta). The motive of trivialising Greek guilt is the Greek Cypriot dependency on Greece. The Greek state was both their only ally in the arena of international politics and the state upon which their hopes for protection from a further Turkish offensive were placed[25].

On the other hand, the term 'Turkey' is a generalising synecdoche. It replaces a semantically narrower term (a government) with a semantically broader one (Turkey). The ascription of blame to Turkey is built on traditional Greekness and its dominant mode of reading the past. According to Greek historicity, Byzantium was destroyed by the Turks who still lurk in search of more Greek lands, as showing by the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor, the threats in the Aegean and the invasion of Cyprus. The incorporation of the invasion into this historiographical canon serves to perpetuate Greek identity on the island.

Political discourse also drew upon elements from Greek identity with the aim to modify them. An example of transformational strategy is the following quotation from Makarios' last public press conference. "Our struggle is not directed against the Turkish Cypriots. They too are the victims of the Turkish invasion and not our rivals. Turkey is our adversary; Turkey is the invader we want to expel so that Greeks and Turks may free ourselves"[26]. This passage alludes to rivalry between the two groups in the 1960s on the issue of the political future of Cyprus, especially the image of the Turkish Cypriots as the enemy due to their opposition to *enosis* and demand for *taksim*. Here, this image is transformed by negation – the Turkish Cypriots are not 'our rivals'.

A group of academics who were brought together at the conferences of 1976 and who saw themselves as being engaged in an enquiry into the cause of the problem, also minimised

Greek Cypriot culpability by overplaying the "international dimension of the problem" and underplaying the "internal dimension"[27]. The following statement is illustrative of this strategy: "the two 'motherlands' and their rivalry, rather than ethnic diversity on Cyprus, are the main reason for the emergence of the problem"[28].

In contrast to political rhetoric, the concept of 'outside factors' in intellectual texts refers to the spread of Greek and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus, the rivalry between Greece and Turkey to annex the island, the colonial policy to keep the island under Britain's control, and the post-colonial plans of the United States to partition Cyprus between Greece and Turkey. For intellectuals, then, "Greece, Turkey, the British, the U.S. are the outsiders"[29].

The effect of utilising strategies of relativisation in relation to the ascription of blame for the problem was to render unthinkable that the divided present had been the outcome of conflict between the two groups and their divergent aims of *enosis* and *taksim*. Instead, what was projected as thinkable is the idea of heteronomy as the source of the problem. In the literature, this is described as the victim thesis and is summarised by Bryant as follows: "Cypriots are *only* victims – whether victims of international conspiracies, victims of British colonial policy, victims of the 'mother countries', or victims of their own leaders"[30].

Competing solutions to the problem and visions of the future

This particular articulation of blame was intended to back and justify a certain solution to the Cyprus problem – the reunification of the island on the basis of a bi-communal, bi-zonal and independent state in which Greek and Turkish Cypriots can live together again peacefully[31]. This solution implies a shift in the meaning attached to the destiny of the people. While prior to 1974 their fate was to be united with Greece, the strengthening of autonomous statehood became the new collective goal to strive for after 1974. Formulated differently, there was an identity shift in terms of the common future: from *enosis* and Greekness to independence and Cypriotness.

For Stamatakis, this shift was expressed in two distinct ways. Directly, by pro-independence statements, and, indirectly, by denouncing the ideology of *enosis*[32]. An example of the strategy of emphasising autonomy in political rhetoric is the following

statement by the Secretary General of AKEL. This example also illustrates that the locus of Cyprus as a pleasant place was utilised to constitute the future. In addressing the Parliament in 1975, he declared his vision "to make our Cyprus truly independent, sovereign and territorially united, in which Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots will be living together like brothers and will be constructing with their work a happy and content life for all"[33]. To mention another example, one of the resources employed in intellectual practices to realise the deconstructive strategy of *enosis* is derogatory predications. These are manifested for instance in metaphors, such as the death metaphor ("Enosis is dead"), or, in epithets, as in the depiction of *enosis* as "wrong slogan"[34]. The shift in portrayals of the future is further embedded in the turn towards Turkish Cypriots materialised in the policy of rapprochement, and in the re-reading of Cyprus as a plural society. Such kind of references are evident in both political and intellectual practices[35].

The projection of a united future was also linked to an effort to block the idea of the creation of two states in Cyprus, advocated by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots:

> By her arbitrary actions Turkey seeks to impose on the Cypriot people a confederation solution. The peculiarity of the Cyprus terrain, the limited area of the island, its natural and economic features and generally its geographical data do not favour such a political solution. The creation of two separate states, loosely linked together – as advocated by Turkey – would ultimately lead to the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus and would in no way serve the true interests of the Cypriots[36].

In this passage, a politician and senior state official dismantles the Turkish-enunciated alternative vision of the future – a confederation solution based upon two separate and loosely linked states – at least in three ways: through the attribution of an autocratic character to Turkey; by arguing that geography and economy are against the creation of two states; and, by warning against the negative results of this vision.

In the literature, it is highlighted that there has been a different solution to the problem – a return to the pre-1974 *status quo* with a Cypriot state controlled by Greek Cypriots through democratic majority rule and provisions for the rights of the Turkish Cypriot minority[37]. This vision of the future tended to be implied rather than expressed overtly and was frequently associated with the notion of justice. This can be seen in the following statement, where Makarios addresses Greek Cypriots at a commemoration rally of the invasion: "this meeting shows your adamant decision for resistance against the invader

and the continuation of the struggle until justice is done"[38]. Here, Makarios indirectly speaks of a necessary difference between the present and the future. There is no justice in the present and the people are struggling to bring about a 'just' future. For the speaker, a 'just' future means the liberation of the occupied areas and the return of the Greek-Cypriot refugees to their lands. This vision of the future is also expressed by the (elliptical) slogan "all refugees home", which was repeatedly used by politicians after 1974, as well as by the axiom of "I do not forget" that connotes a declaration of will to keep alive in memory the occupied areas until the day of return.

Unlike the idea of partnership statehood that has been conveyed to the international community, the desire for a return to a pre-1974 status has been offered for internal consumption. Mavratsas points out that this difference can be traced by comparing speeches given at the remembrance days of the state with the officially-articulated policy[39]. If his observation is right, and given that, on the one hand, the return solution is based on a key contour of Greekness, that Cyprus is Greek, and on the other, the bi-communal state solution is a major pillar of Cypriotness, there is a contradiction in identity formation. It appears that politicians tried to transform Greek identity into a Cypriot one before the international community and at the same time, to perpetuate Greekness before Greek Cypriot audience.

4.2.3 The construction of a common past

The scholarly discourse: from coexistence to separation and conflict

In his account of post-1974 academic historiography, Papadakis shows how a Cypriot past was built upon "the idea of peaceful coexistence"[40]. This idea stresses the long symbiosis of Muslims and Christians in Cyprus and the recent emergence of their separation and conflict. The topic of coexistence is constructed through an assimilation strategy aimed at projecting a Cypriot folk. In contrast, a dissimilation strategy prevails in the articulation of segregation and discord, as well as relativisation strategies designed to trivialise local responsibility for the disruption of symbiosis. This novel reading of the past served to back and justify the future of a re-united Cyprus. Since 'we' used to live peacefully in the past, 'we' can do so again in the future[41].

In the historical writings of scholars such as Attalides, Kitromilides and Kyrris, there is ample evidence of the symbiosis theory[42]. It is manifested, for instance, in the recurrent use of terms such as "coexistence" and "symbiosis" to portray inter-ethnic relationships. This theory is also backed by argumentation. For example, Cyprus was marked by the existence of mixed villages, the two ethnicities joined forces in many occasions against Ottoman oppression, Greeks used to invite Turks to their weddings, and, there was common participation in commercial and religious fairs. The effect of this assimilative lexicon and argumentation was to project a united Cypriot people whose solidarity was based on common problems and protests, a shared folk piety, a common rural life style, and the interdependence of economic and ritual relations.

In the writings of these historians, there is also evidence of a second phase of inter-communal relations – "the phase of separation and conflict"[43]. The issue of blame for the distortion of ethnic relations is an important topic in the narration of this phase. Nationalism – Greek and Turkish – and other external factors, notably British and US policies, are depicted as culpable for the disruption of symbiosis. This causal locus of external forces is illustrated with just one example. "It becomes therefore once again evident that the decisive factors in the escalation of conflict and the consequent distortion of ethnic relations, have been external, *not* domestic"[44]. This utterance acknowledges that both 'external' and 'domestic' factors account for disruption and conflict. Yet, the local factors are minimised and the foreign ones are accentuated.

Given the political context of historical writing, the emphasis on heteronomy as the *raison d'être* of conflict had the effect of justifying the vision of future symbiosis by trivialising the local guilt of past discord. Several other relativisation strategies were used to achieve the same outcome. For example, there is the strategy of underplaying the importance of *enosis* among Greek Cypriots after 1960, and of overplaying the responsibility of Turkish Cypriot leadership in the withdrawal from the state in 1963[45]. There is, moreover, the strategy of casting doubt about the degree of the disruption of symbiosis through adverbs, as in the statement "the patterns of traditional coexistence have never been *totally* disrupted", and through accounts of assistance by Turkish to Greek Cypriots and the other way round in times of dispute[46].

For Papadakis, this representation of the past entails three shifts in relation to pre-1974 academic historiography[47]. These changes are interpreted as manifestations of an attempt to transform the entrenched Greek (and Turkish) identity on the island.

- First, there was a shift in group categorisation: from the model of Greeks and Turks to that of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This new labelling deconstructs the view that the two groups are merely extensions of the Greek or the Turkish nation in Cyprus. Instead it articulates two collectivities with both commonalities and differences with each other and with the inhabitants of Greece and Turkey.
- Second, social history was emphasised for the first time alongside political history. This trend introduces into the interpretation of the past a period of peace, dismantling the view that the history of Greeks and Turks is one of wars.
- The third was a move from an imagination that placed Cyprus within Hellenism to one which saw Cyprus as an autonomous entity, in the words of Attalides, the editor of *Cyprus Reviewed*, "a recognizable historical, geographical and political entity: an actor on the world scene which will not disappear because it is inconvenient..."[48].

This quotation calls attention to a final aspect of the post-74 historicity which emerged in reaction to a pattern of thought which was against the idea of Cypriot independence[49]. This position was promoted by foreign journalists and academics and its major argumentative premises were that: the people of Cyprus are appendages of either Greece or Turkey; Greek and Turk have not only essential cultural differences but also negative stereotypes of each other and an age-old enmity, making their coexistence impossible; thus, a unitary Cypriot state is not viable and the island should be divided. The foremost exponent of this stance was the Turkish Cypriot leadership who was putting forward this argumentation to justify their demand for the partition of the island and the creation of two separate states.

A closer look at the argumentative premises of this position reveals that they are drawn upon Greekness and Turkishness. This means that the new identity was in fact articulated as a reaction to existing, dominant nationalist discourses which were considered as being amongst the most important factors that led to the catastrophe in Cyprus. By implication, the new identity was promoted as one of the "normative directions leading out of

the impasse"[50]. Or, formulated in a different way, traditional Greek and Turkish identities were also among the conditions of formation of the new discourse about the 'self' after 1974.

The political discourse of the state: from coexistence to invasion and occupation

The idea of past peaceful coexistence was also – and still is – pre-eminent in state politics[51]. It was appropriated from historians, thus decontextualised first and then recontextualised, and modified in at least three ways. First, the official version of the past projects coexistence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, not between Christians and Muslims. Second, it avoids dealing with the theme of separation and conflict. And third, it attaches blame for the disruption of symbiosis solely to Turkish expansionism. In other words, this making of the past was dominated by an avoidance strategy. This strategy was intended to (also) legitimise the aspiration of a common independent state by neglecting to refer to problematic policies and negative actions in the past.

According to the official historical narrative, the beginning of the past is the peaceful symbiosis of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Ottoman and British Cyprus. The natural and definitive end of this symbiosis should be the creation of a shared state. In 1955 the EOKA struggle started for independence and, following a four-year struggle against the British, the island became autonomous in 1960. From then on it was independent until 1974, when the coup gave Turkey the excuse it has always wanted to capture Cyprus. A few days after the coup, the Turks invaded the island, destroying independence and interrupting the coexistence of its people. This is a mythistory, in the words of Papadakis, "with a tragic and unfair ending", one that "insinuates the desire for a change in the *status quo*; in other words, it is an incomplete story"[52].

In the literature, the articulation of the past along these lines is often extracted from the political rhetoric that accompanies the state's commemorative rituals. These rituals, Papadakis aptly remarks, "build a narrative that articulates a certain story (a history)"[53]. After 1974, the state has created or re-discovered a new commemoration system centred on Cypriot autonomy: the start of the EOKA struggle, Independence Day, and the anniversaries of the coup and the invasion. Papadakis sketches the meanings arising out of them as follows[54]:

- Since 1974, the EOKA struggle has been referred to as freedom struggle and not as struggle for *enosis*. It has been also presented as a struggle of *all* Cypriots, thus overshadowing the exclusion of the Left and Turkish Cypriot opposition.
- The second remembrance is one of victory and refers to independence. Whereas the Independence Day was hardly commemorated prior to 1974 – when the stress was mainly on the national holidays of the Greek state – it started being celebrated with parades and other activities after 1974. This day signifies "the freeing of Cyprus from the British yoke" while before 1974 it was regarded as "the defeat of enosis".
- The last commemorations are ones of lament as they referred to the coup and the invasion. Here, it is emphasised the treason of the Junta and their collaborators on the island, the desire to return to the occupied areas, and, the wish to see Cyprus reunited in order to "live once more peacefully with the Turkish Cypriots".

The meanings given to public days of remembrance highlight that the construction of identity after 1974 was associated not only with avoidance and scapegoat strategies, but also with transformation strategies – with the ascription of new meaning to key past events and the substitution of union (with Greece) with re-union (of Cyprus) as the destiny of Greek Cypriots. From the above discussion, it is also deduced that alongside inter-ethnic strife, the avoidance strategy was also used in official discourse to conceal conflict within the Greek Cypriot community.

Intra-ethnic division and conflict is a central preoccupation of post-1974 leftist politics and historiography[55]. Two further important motifs projected by the historicity of the Left are the existence of a Cypriot identity that renders 'Greek Cypriots' and 'Greeks' different and the Phoenician origins of the "Cypriot nation". That there is such a nation and that it emerged out of Phoenician influences is a motif that evokes the late nineteenth century reading of Cyprus by imperialist archaeology as Oriental[56].

Meanwhile, in England, the 'nation' also became an object of attention to intellectuals and politicians in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Nationhood was not simply talked and written about, but through discourse, it was reconstituted in certain ways. In contrast to the new identity in Cyprus which is often characterised by the use of *transformation* and *unification* strategies, it is those of *perpetuation* and *differentiation* that tend to prevail in the new identity in England.

4.3 Discursive constructs of national identity in post-imperial England

This section aims to examine how identity was constructed in the writing and talking of conservative politicians and thinkers during the Conservative administration of the UK. For Lynch, the Tories have long enjoyed predominance over the language of nationhood, portraying themselves as the party of the Nation, Union, Crown and Empire[57]. In the post-imperial period, this image had been undermined largely by the end of the Empire, the European integration, immigration from former colonies and relative economic decline. In response to these developments, as this section argues, the Conservatives sought to simultaneously transform and maintain national identity.

Many of the Party's nationalist themes were drawn upon the speeches of the conservative politician and scholar Enoch Powell. In the context of a declining empire, Powell became the spokesman of an English nationalism, advocating continuity with the pre-British past, cultural homogeneity, and rootedness in the homeland[58].

The re-imagination of the national 'self' during this period was promoted by several newly-established conservative associations, mainly composed by academics, such as the Salisbury Group (1977)[59]. Throughout the 1980s, the neo-conservative intelligentsia produced many influential publications on nation, culture and race, with the most important being the journal *The Salisbury Review* edited by Roger Scruton.

In particular, this section seeks to identify the most important themes and the main strategies of identity in text and talk of political and intellectual conservatives. Of the main five content-related areas discussed in Chapter Two, the making of a common national territory hardly occurs in their practices. In contrast to politicians, intellectuals are preoccupied with the constitution of a common national culture. There are also attempts by both groups to articulate a typical *homo nationalis*. However, their thinking centres almost exclusively on the nation's time. The projected present is partly dominated by the idea of an endangered nation that needed protection.

4.3.1 The construction of national 'others': a nation under threat

Europeanisation as an 'outside' enemy

The point of departure in the production of 'others' is the Tory politics on the European integration where 'otherness' is related to the process itself. Three different types of strategies are used by the Tories to talk about this issue – strategies of warning against the loss of autonomy and identity, of stressing difference and superiority, and of preserving and defending nationhood[60]. The overall lines of argument put forward by these strategies can be summed up as follows: due to difference between Britain and Europe, European unification is incompatible with identity; since identity is threatened by this process, it must be defended.

Although arguments for European unity were expressed within the party, the dominant pattern in conservative mainstream politics was to represent Europeanisation as a threat to nationhood. One piece of evidence often cited in the literature to illustrate this tendency is the following excerpt:

> The more I considered all this [integration], the greater my frustration and the deeper my anger became. Were British democracy, parliamentary sovereignty, the common law, our traditional sense of fairness, our ability to run our own affairs in our own way to be subordinated to the demands of a remote European bureaucracy, resting on very different traditions?[61]

In Bradley's view, Thatcher is arguing here that "the very heart of the British identity was being threatened"[62]. Heteronomy is addressed negatively through the locus of integration as a threat not only to national autonomy but also to the nation itself and its political traditions. The nation is evoked here by the possessive pronoun 'our' and the adjective 'British', and defined by the civic criteria of law and parliament, as well as by the habitus-based aspect of a 'sense of fairness' while national tradition is triggered by the term 'democracy' that alludes to the Whig English story of constitutionalism.

Apart from the (re)production of an ambivalent and hybrid identity that blends together elements from Britishness and Englishness, the above extract highlights a second strategy – that of setting apart the 'self' from the Continental 'others' in terms of politics and history. In fact, instances of differentiation often occur side by side with a tendency to accentuate 'our' superiority over 'them'. In justifying her decision to reject "an ever closer

union", for example, Thatcher said: "[b]ecause Britain was the most stable and developed democracy in Europe we had the most to lose from these developments"[63]. In an interview, she similarly declared that "we are 700 years old, Germany's parliament is only 40, Spain a dozen years old, Portugal even less"[64].

These utterances also allude to the nineteenth-century English historicity and liberalism – and to difference between the English and the non-English British. This connection with the late nineteenth century has the effect of maintaining some of the meanings of Englishness formulated during that period – for example, the propositions that the political institutions of England are the freest in Europe because they are the result of an age-old process of cumulative growth, and that the peaceful evolution of liberties in England resulted in the avoidance of the political instability and violent revolutions of Europe. Instead of 'England', however, Thatcher employs the term 'Britain'. This also indicates the ambivalence of the conservative discourse of identity. It is not clear whether the term 'Britain' refers to a distinct British nation that happens to have English contents in its core or, is simply utilised as synonymous with the term 'England' implying that Britain is nothing more than just England expanded.

To convey uniqueness and superiority, conservative politicians and intellectuals also used such arguments as 'we' are the only undefeated or unconquered nation in Europe, 'we' are the agent of the liberation of European and non-European peoples, and 'we' are Europe's and the world's in general prototype and bastion of freedom[65]. One piece of evidence quoted in scholarly works to illustrate these claims is Thatcher's statement at a national elections rally that "[w]e are quite different from the rest of Europe ... we alone have not been occupied or defeated for nearly a thousand years; they have regularly. We alone defeated the tyrannies in Europe or rescued other people from it. We are a remarkable people and it's right that we should keep our sovereignty and national character". Here, through the rhetoric of 'we' and 'they', the Prime Minister constructs a two part-world and insinuates a clear frontier between a superior world of freedom, victories and service in humanity – 'ours' – and an inferior world of autocracy, defeats and occupations – 'theirs'.

This statement further illustrates the ambivalence and hybridity of identity. Here, there are five occurrences of the deictic 'we'. In its second occurrence, the 'we'-group is the

English that have not been occupied or defeated since the Norman times. In contrast, the third instance of 'we' articulates an ambiguous British nation: the nation which defeated for example Nazism and which includes not only the four Isles nations but also former colonised peoples and Britons from the white dominions, or, the nation which rescued the oppressed of the world through the British Empire and which now encompasses only the English, Scots, Irish and Welsh. Thus, the fourth occasion of 'we', i.e. 'we are a remarkable people', appears ambivalent about their referent: the English or the British? the British of Britain or the British of the Empire?

By implication, the image of a dichotomous world functions both to rationalise and legitimise opposition to integration and to maintain the entrenched identity. In a similar vein, the disaster locus embedded in the clause 'we had the most to lose from these developments' also has a justifying function in rejecting this process, while the phrase 'it's right', the modal 'should' and the verb 'keep' in the utterance 'it's right that we should keep our sovereignty and national character' also serve to protect and perpetuate identity. That the safeguarding of identity against Europe unification was a key issue in Conservative politics is a point stressed by other researchers[66].

The ethnic minorities, multiculturalism and anti-racism: enemies within

While for some scholars the projection of 'others' is related with European integration, many others see the non-white ethnic groups that immigrated to England in the post-war period as the main source of 'otherness'[67]. These scholars have explored the ways in which the migrants, their immigration and their relations with the 'self' were addressed by conservative politicians and intellectuals in a variety of social sites, such as scholarly publications, political debates at the press, and cabinet papers. Viewed in terms of content, text and talk about 'them' revolve around difference, exclusion, deviance and threat. These motifs are conveyed via strategies of setting 'us' apart from 'them' and negative 'other'-presentation. Alongside constructive strategies, perpetuation and relativisation strategies are used in an attempt to defend and maintain what the Conservatives perceived as an endangered identity.

Non-white ethnic minorities were distinguished, disparaged and excluded from the host nation on the grounds of race, *habitus* and culture. Differentiation, derision and exclusion were expressed in at least three ways: by particular modes of addressing 'them', by ascribing a bundle of derogatory predications to 'them', and by a fund of loci. For example, 'they' were designated as blacks, browns, foreigners and aliens. 'They' were portrayed as loud and dirty, as undisciplined with resentment towards authority, and were charged with an inclination to criminality, as well as with an inability of ordinary family life. 'They' were also positioned as being not in the very nature of things and were accused of an unwillingness to adapt and assimilate; and, 'they' were depicted as too many to be absorbed.

Since 'they' differ from 'us', 'they' do not want to conform to 'our' ways and 'they' are too many, 'they' are a threat to 'us', "the large, self-conscious black and brown communities will turn Britain itself into a different sort of place", wrote the conservative philosopher John Casey in the journal *The Salisbury Review*[68]. The locus of a nation in danger, which received both scholarly and political circulation in the post-imperial period, was often embedded in a negatively-connoted lexicon used to represent immigration as a "problem", "a destabilising factor", "invasion", "influx". The locus of threat was also associated with a moral obligation by nationals to defend their threatened identity and was used to legitimise and rationalise discriminatory policy and action against 'them'. The politicians often argued for immigration restrictions and controls, while the elimination of non-white *ethnies* by assimilation or repatriation tended to be the suggestion of intellectuals.

The literature calls attention to a second perceived threat to nationhood – the rhetoric of multiculturalism and anti-racism – which was mainly advocated by ethnic minorities, (some) Local Education Authorities and sections of the Labour Party[69]. In the following statement that was made by Powell, the locus of threat is realised through a rather fictitious scenario of disaster:

> So far our response has been to attempt to force upon ourselves a non-identity and to assert that we have no unique distinguishing characteristics: the formula is 'a multiracial, multicultural society'. A nation which thus deliberately denies its continuity with its past and its rootedness in its homeland is on the way to repudiate its existence[70].

In this passage, the quotation marks reveal that the conservative identity discourse draws on a non-conservative discursive position through which the nation is seen as a multiracial and

multicultural. Interdiscursivity is intended to disparage this reading of the nation, and by implication, to promote a different position inclined towards the traditional interpretation of the nation as a mono-racial, mono-cultural community. The position of racial and cultural pluralism as the basis of nation is dismantled by being related to 'a non-identity' situation negatively defined by the repudiation of continuity with the past, of the nation's rootedness in its homeland, of uniqueness in terms of culture, and ultimately, of nationhood itself.

Similar motifs are also found in intellectual texts. For example, in his analysis of *The Salisbury Review*, Seidel identifies a number of ways in which the conservative intellectuals responded to and tried to discredit or refute anti-racist and multicultural views on the national 'self'[71]. Two such ways are reproduced below:

- by apparent denial, in which a positive first clause denies racism and is followed by a contrasted but clause implying something negative about minorities, as in the statement "I have not the slightest colour prejudice but I think England and Wales and Scotland are the homelands of their nationals".
- by the shift of responsibility: not 'our' prejudices, but 'their' deficiencies are to be blamed for 'their' disadvantage, as in the utterance "the roots of black educational failure are, in reality, located in West Indian family structure and values".

These argumentative moves have two purposes regarding identity construction. The first is to defend the nation's character against the accusation that 'we' are racist, thus perpetuating a positive image of the national *habitus* that stresses tolerance. This is achieved by relativising or justifying racial discrimination against 'others' and their exclusion from nationhood. The second is to maintain a closed and exclusive identity by colonising a context in which its renegotiation, for instance, in the form of dismantling negative prejudices against 'them', ought to have been its main feature, in order to integrate symbolically the new ethnicities into the image of the nation.

4.3.2 The making of a common culture and character

Seidel points out that writing and talking about 'them' turns out to be about "an implicit or explicit vision of national culture"[72]. In the pages of *The Salisbury Review* and the various works of its editor Roger Scruton[73], this culture is defined as the sacred inheritance of

the nation, as an innate, unchanging, perennial and homogenous entity[74]. It is built on a cluster of common customs, Christianity, the English language and the people's ordinary practices – for instance, leisure activities such as a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, and, eating and drinking habits such as warm beer and beetroot in vinegar. This notion of culture is finally defined in terms of arts – for example, the music of Elgar, Shakespeare's plays, the poetry of Tennyson and Matthew Arnold, and the nineteenth-century Gothic style of church architecture.

Kumar points out that this reading of culture is English in character and alludes to "the highly selective, partly nostalgic and backward-looking version of 'cultural Englishness' elaborated in the late nineteenth century and continued into the next"[75]. One of the most frequently-used devices evoking this version of Englishness is manifest interdiscursivity. Quotations from T.S. Eliot, George Orwell, John Betjeman, J.B. Priestley and many other English writers and poets are explicitly drawn upon within conservative intellectual texts. Stated differently, interdiscursivity realises a perpetuation strategy aimed at maintaining the entrenched English identity.

The rhetoric of Thatcherite governments also drew upon elements from the cultural account of identity but it mixed them with elements from the political model[76]. On the one hand, it stressed communal solidarity and culture, a 'we' perspective, and on the other, it focused on individualism and limited constitutional politics, an 'I' perspective. In terms of identity, the outcome of the combination of divergent themes was the creation of "an unstable hybrid of individualist and communitarian themes"[77]. For Lynch, this ambivalent position of identification was, moreover, "an expression of English identity rather than Britishness"[78]. Gamble likewise defines Thatcherism as "the latest religion of little England"[79], and, Cannadine notes that "the Conservative Party has once again become pre-eminently the party of English nationalism"[80].

Yet, the official-political discourse on nationhood was not mere Englishness. For instance, answering the self-imposed question "what kind of people are we?", Thatcher, in the following statement, alludes to the British industrial supremacy of the nineteenth century and the image of Britons as great industrialists in the past. "We are the people who in the past made Great Britain the workshop of the world, the people who persuaded others to buy

British, not by begging them to do so but because it was best". In the same speech, she also evoked the motif of Britons as a people of great inventors. "We are the people who, among other things, invented the computer, the refrigerator, the electric motor, the stethoscope, rayon..."[81]. The evocation of a British nation defined by past industrial and scientific greatness was also evident in the intellectual discourse[82].

Seidel further remarks that talk on 'otherness' also "turns out to be primarily about 'us', 'our' values and identity"[83]. Thus, contrast to the autocratic, conquered and oppressed Europeans, the 'self' are democratic, undefeated and free. As against the criminality, resentment of authority and unruliness of the migrants, the 'self' are characterised by respect of the rule of law and for authority and order. These traits are also expressed in an explicit manner and the sentiment of patriotic allegiance to the British *patria* is often added to a projected national character[84].

Other features of a national *habitus* include: a particular national mentality marked by a belief in the continuity of national consciousness throughout the centuries and by dislike and mistrust of foreigners; a sense of belonging to the nation in terms of race, blood and kinship; an emotional attachment to the nation and a willingness to take sides with it; and a set of typical everyday norms centred on fondness of home, of ordinary and family life, of cleanliness, quietness and privacy. Ward points out that the articulation of a *habitus* along domestic-private lines served to preserve the home-centred Englishness of the interwar era[85].

The academic literature also calls attention to Thatcher's Victorian values as another defining feature of the national character[86]. Her constitution of the typical national is also ambivalent, heterogeneous and contradictory. This derives from the co-articulation of state-based and culture-oriented elements, as well as liberal and more traditional conservative motifs. In particular, the Victorian *habitus* is represented and constructed as decent, honest, hard-working, self-reliant, independent in thought and action as well as of the state. It is also held to use resources wisely for the sake of their children and to believe in right and wrong. And finally, it is depicted as being in favour of family and involved in charitable works in the local community, as loyal and patriotic, and as supportive of strong government.

Rather than representing a *habitus* of being, this image of the national character was one of becoming, one that was offered as a repository of attitudes and dispositions from a great national past, during a present of national decline, for the purpose of the nation's revival in the future. Victorian values, as Samuel points out, "were double-coded, a programme for the future disguised as a narrative of the past", and crucially, the values which had made Britain great, as Thatcher had repeatedly emphasised[87].

4.3.3 The constitution of a common present and future: a nation in decline

As has been implied earlier, the evaluation of the then condition of the nation which conservative politicians and intellectuals presented in their text and talk is marked by the pervasive utilisation of the locus of threat. The effect of this tendency is to generate the image of a national community, especially its continuity, autonomy and uniqueness, as being under threat, primarily from Europeanisation, immigration and multiculturalism. The Tories, as was also shown, responded to perceived dangers by defending existing identity, ruling out the option of its transformation. This, however, was not the case regarding social democracy.

The disparagement of social democracy and a 'new' future for the nation

Gamble is one of the many scholars who has pointed out that, when they came to power in 1979, the Tories were not interested in perpetuating the political and socio-economic status of Britain. They wanted a radical change aiming at the replacement of the discredited social-democratic consensus of the postwar period by a new consensus for the 1990s and beyond[88]. Thus, the representation of a national present and future is dominated by strategies of negative presentation and transformation. The overall lines of thinking expressed by these strategies can be summed up in the arguments that due to social democracy, the nation is in a condition of decline and that the solution of this problem is a free economy and a small but strong state.

During their 1979 election campaign, the Tories tended to address negatively the nation's socio-economic and political condition via the locus of Britain as a terrible place. This *topos* was deployed both as a strategy of derision and as a transformation strategy, to devaluate continuity and connote positively change. Specifically:

- the economy was seen as a "Museum Economy", "living in the nostalgic glories of a previous industrial revolution" and being marked by "obsolete practices" and "the production of uncompetitive goods".
- Society was said to be in crisis due to social permissiveness, the immorality of the individual, the decay of democracy, the erosion of family and disorder in schools. Britain was, in Thatcher's words, "a decadent, undisciplined society".
- The state was depicted to be too weak to exercise its authority and maintain order in such a degree that Britain was felt to be ungovernable; and, too bid, a system of paternalism creating a culture of dependence ("the nanny state")[89].

Implicit in this image of the present is the connection of the conservative discourse on nationhood with a range of other discourses promoted in the post-war period – of welfarism, of feminism, of environmentalism and so on. Interdiscursivity is manifested as a deconstructive strategy aimed at dismantling many meanings of these pre-existing discourses as elements of national identity. As Edgar points out, the Tories set out to demolish the welfare state and "to confront the social libertarianism that characterized public policy and attitudes in the sixties, from anti-militarism to anti-racism, from the liberalization of sexual life and the liberation of women to the protection of the environment and the privacy of the individual"[90]. Or, in Furedi's formulation, "neoconservatism was born in the mid-1960s" and as "a *reaction* to the 1960s"[91].

The dismantling of the institutions of social democracy was constituted as one of the two pre-conditions which would help "to make Britain great again, in the face of a sense of decline"[92]. The second was a restoration of a limited but strong state with the competence to establish and maintain order and hierarchy, a revival of private enterprise and free competition, and, a return to a social model founded on individual responsibility and family.

This means that a particular aspect of the construction of the present and future within official signifying practices was the disarticulation of the existing formation of identity – notably its features of the nationalised economy and the welfare state. In its place, the Tories re-articulated a 'new' construct, drawing upon elements from earlier nationalist discourses, such as the Burkean themes of hierarchy, authority and order, the late nineteenth-century motif of liberal economy and the archetypal myth of the free-born Englishman.

This reading of the present and future led many scholars to suggest that the Conservative administration helped to undermine British unity, for the welfare state and the nationalised economy, as was suggested in Chapter Three, were the foremost symbols of post-war British identity:

> Thatcher might speak about putting the 'Great' back in Great Britain, but her administration, and that of her successor John Major, massively undermined the principal remaining props of Britishness: the National Health Service, state education, trade unionism, British Rail, the Post Office, the BBC and the nationalised industries[93].

Others saw this change as a re-imagination of the British community from a nation of industrialists and inventors to one of entrepreneurs, business innovators, financial advisors, merchant-adventurers and investors[94].

4.3.4 The narration of a common national past

The Victorian period as a social golden age

The transition from the unbearable present into a desirable future was to be accomplished by returning to the past, to the "Old Good Days" of Victorian Britain[95]. Through a strategy of positive presentation, Thatcher, along with other politicians such as Keith Joseph, and historians such as Asa Briggs, narrated the Victorian past as an age of great progress and prosperity, a period in which the people where living "in a state of innocent simplicity. Instead of nationalised industries there are small business and family firms. Work is accorded dignity, achievement rewarded rather than taxed. Families hold together and put their savings by against a rainy day. People know right from wrong"[96]. This reading of the nation's past served at the time both as a testimony to the national failings of the present and as a legitimate model on which the nation's future was to be (re)built.

For Kaye, this interpretation of the past was, moreover, a response to leftist academic historiography[97]. In the 1960s and the 1970s, Marxist, radical, feminist and liberal historians projected a negative image of the Victorian past – as a period of misery, discontent and protest for reform by marginalised groups such as workers and women. This imagery was part of a broader line of historical writing labelled by Paul Kennedy as "anti-nationalistic"[98].

Having been developing from the 1850s but gaining dominance in the post-war period, this historiography rejects explanations of historical events based on such *clichés* as 'racial superiority', 'special national characteristics' and the like. Instead, attention is turned to contingency and to the discovery of evidence that dismantles many of the nationalist mythistories, such as the theory that the Teutonic folkmood contains the origins of English liberty or the view of Magna Carta as the foundation of the ordinary people's freedoms.

In the eyes of neo-conservatives, a subversive historicity resulted in the erosion of pride and confidence in the national traditions, thus lowering achievements, and ultimately, leading to the political and economic decline of the nation[99]. Hence, they restated traditional views on national history in their defence of the nation. At the same time, they employed a deconstructive strategy to disparage the newer historiographical patterns. An example of this strategy is Thatcher's portrayal of social historians as national enemies and their narratives as a threat to the nation: "[w]e are witnessing a deliberate attack on our values, a deliberate attack on those who wish to promote merit and excellence, a deliberate attack on our heritage and our past"[100].

The Whig interpretation of history

The evocation of the Whig historicity, as a mode of understanding the nation's past, was also a key component of the conservative-political discourse on nationhood. In Cannadine's words, "the most unreconstructed and uncompromising form of Whig history which survives today is that preached from 10 Downing Street by Tory Prime Ministers"[101]. One piece of evidence cited to support this claim is the following excerpt from a speech delivered by Major during a European election campaign:

> This British nation has a monarchy founded by the Kings of Wessex over eleven hundred years ago, a Parliament and universities formed over seven hundred years ago, a language with its roots in the mists of time, and the richest vocabulary in the world. This is no recent historical invention: it is the cherished creation of generations, and as we work to build a new and better Europe, we must never forget the traditions and inheritance of our past.

Several points regarding the making of identity can be deduced from these texts. First, the evoked history is a 'Little England' history which implicitly sets the English apart from the Scots, Welsh and Northern Irish. Second, as defining elements of Britishness, a monarchy descended from Wessex, a Parliament and universities originated in the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries and a timeless language are also English in character. Thus, either Major was asserting "the essential 'Englishness' of the United Kingdom"[102] or, just like Thatcher, he was saying "the politically correct 'Britain', but by it they meant England"[103]. The third point refers to a focus on national longevity and continuity. This is also accompanied with an attempt to defend through denial the nation against the modernist view that nations are modern and invented communities. The final point is that allusions to the Whig history often occurred in debates about the European integration and their function was to maintain a threatened identity.

The political reading of the past also contained elements from British identity, promoting an ambivalent position of national identification that oscillates between Britishness and Englishness. Three statements from the Thatcherite speech at Bruges in 1988 are reproduced below to exemplify the evocation of British nationhood:

1. For 300 years we were part of the Roman Empire.
2. Our ancestors – Celts, Saxons and Danes – came from the continent.
3. This year we celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the Glorious Revolution in which the British crown passed to Prince William of Orange and Queen Mary[104].

Here, the deictic 'we', the possessive pronoun 'our' and the adjective 'British' play a key role in constituting a British nation. Its articulation is reinforced in three ways: by focusing on the age of Roman Britain, a period given scant attention in English stories because it precedes the Anglo-Saxon advent; by blending together both English and non-English British myths of racial origins; and, by drawing on genuinely British institutions (the Crown of 1688) and symbols (Prince William of Orange and Queen Mary).

Traces of Whig historicity and English identity can also be found in historical scholarship, for example, in the work of Elton[105]. In his book *The English*, Elton uses an overall strategy of stressing autonomy to depict the English as a free and self-sufficient people who managed to organise themselves from within their own resources and who were never part of the European culture. He also harks back to the theory of the Anglo-Saxon origins of the English, for instance, when he defines England as an "identifiable branch of the Germanic nations" and speaks of "the Anglo-Saxons who by stages turned into the English"[106]. In relation to this theory, a dissimilation strategy is also deployed to differentiate racially the Anglo-Saxons from the Celts and to enact a distinction between the Anglo-Saxon

heritage and the Celtic: "the Anglo-Saxons did not intermarry with the indigenous population; they inherited no institutions of government and public order"[107].

The regeneration of England from the British phase

In the conclusion of his book, Elton also puts forward an idea of the 'rebirth' of England in the post-imperial age. According to this idea, the nation was there all along but became obscured by the British Empire which temporarily deluded the people into thinking that they were part of a greater entity, the British nation. This phase, however, came to an end with the collapse of empire. So, the English are about to re-emerge from their British phase.

The motif of English regeneration echoes the poetic rhetoric of Powell, who, on the eve of St George's day in 1961, said:

> So we today, at the heart of a vanished empire, amid the fragments of demolished glory, seem to find, like one of her own oak trees, standing and growing, the sap still rising from her ancient roots to meet the spring, England herself[108].

Like Elton, Powell attempted to adapt identity in changing circumstances, articulating a post-imperial construct of English identity with two key pillars[109]. First, it is marked by continuity with the pre-British past, with "the old England that 'remained unaltered' despite 'the strange fantastic structure' of empire and all the other ventures that England had engaged in over the centuries"[110]. Second, it is not based on narratives of imperial growth and superiority for its vitality and vigour. On the contrary, "Powell's strength", says Kumar, "was his recognition that the imperial game was over, and that England had to find a new identity"[111].

The Tory story of British imperial expansion

In contrast, and in the context of the victory in the Falklands war, Thatcher, and other politicians, sought to maintain or restore an identity based on a view of the past as one of imperial expansion and greatness. As Hall points out, "the imagery of the British Empire seems destined to go on forever. The imperial flag has been hauled down in a hundred different corners of the globe. But it is still flying in the collective unconscious"[112]. Others, however, suggest that references to imperialism were limited in Thatcherite rhetoric. "In

similar vein to Powellism," as Lynch notes, "Thatcherism sought economic renewal and revived national identity free from myths of Empire"[113].

In Thatcherite practices, the imperialist theme as a mode of understanding the nation's past is frequently constructed by allusions serving to perpetuate the image of the Empire. For example, addressing a conservative rally after the war and attempting to restore faith in the idea of nationhood, Thatcher harked back to this motif through the depiction of the British as "the nation that had built an Empire and had ruled a quarter of the world"[114]. The Prime Minister also evoked the imperial past in her Bruges speech: "the story of how Europeans explored and colonised – yes, without apology – civilized much of the world is an extraordinary tale of talent, skill and courage"[115]. The locus of imperial rule as beneficial to the world is pre-eminent here, alluding to a range of meanings from imperialist discourse, e.g. empire as a force for good and the 'self' as agent of material progress and religious truth.

In the above citation from Thatcher's Bruges speech, the linguistic clue of 'yes, without apology' underlines a strategy of defending the nation against postcolonial criticism. From the 1970s and onwards, this body of scholarship began to subvert traditional colonial stories told from the point of view of the coloniser and to re-tell them from the perspective of the colonised[116]. Within the new narratives, the British Empire was re-positioned as a force of evil and the British as agents of exploitation, discrimination and oppression.

Furedi points out that the defence of empire is also a regular theme in historical conservative thinking at the post-colonial world[117]. This is evident in the utilisation of relativisation and justification strategies. For example, strategies of balancing the benefits of colonialism against the disadvantages as in the phrase "the good bits always outweighing the bad"; of victim-victimiser reversal: "we have given aid and comfort, and received nothing but abuse and violence"; and, of disintegrating the autonomy of former colonies, implying that "they were better off under the empire".

4.4 Concluding comparative remarks

The analysis in this chapter has confirmed that the image of the national 'self' was discursively reconstructed in post-imperial England and in Cyprus after 1974. In each setting,

the process of rearticulating nationalist narratives was contingent upon the sociopolitical context in which political and intellectual practices of signification were embedded. This chapter has shown that this context was defined not only by material changes and processes, as was assumed at the beginning. It was also consisted of discursive structures and elements, constituting what Foucault has called "a body of anonymous historical rules"[118]. Taken together, both sets of factors created a new space of possibilities regarding the representation of nationhood, comprising the conditions for identity (re)construction at the specific historical moments.

In Cyprus, the Greek and Turkish interventions and the island's territorial and ethnic division, the political and historiographical argumentative patterns of Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot proposals for a Confederation as a solution to the Cyprus problem, the traditional discourses of Greek and Turkish identities, and the marginal Cypriotness, were amongst the most central components of context that made it possible for identity to be re-imagined.

In England, the context of possibility for re-imagining the nation was defined by a set of different conditions, reflecting the different historical trajectory of England from Cyprus. It consisted of material circumstances such as the disintegration of the Empire, the settlement of ethnic minorities, Europeanisation, Britain's relative political and economic decline as a global power. It was also made of discursive conditions – the emergence of new subject positions of collective identification, the ideals of social democracy, the modernist paradigm in the study of nationalism, anti-nationalistic and post-colonial histories, and, the historical discourses of Britishness and Englishness.

This chapter has also identified the main themes and strategies comprising the new identities. Particular features of these identities, notably the nature of the strategies used, gave expression to different discourse-internal tendencies in the construction of identity. At the same time, these features, due to their diverse foci and origins and orientations, were discursive manifestations of broader processes of social change and reproduction, as well as expressions of different forms of identity (re)construction across the two settings. Finally, these specific features highlight contrasting approaches to regulating change discursively across the two settings and dissimilar assumptions about the nature of nations.

In Cyprus, strategies of highlighting similarity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots were often dominant, evoking a Cypriot position of identification. Cypriot unity tended to be based upon motifs from both the civic and the cultural model of nationality – for instance, on a Cypriot *patria*, ownership of, and rootedness, in land, a Cypriot *habitus*, a hybrid Cypriot culture, the history of peaceful coexistence, images of a dreadful present and a happy future. The majority of these contents was novel, being constructed in interaction with the present. Their articulation was mainly designed to overcome unbearable present times and to open up a new future, of a reunified Cyprus on the basis of an independent and bicommunal state. Hence, these themes were narratives of 'becoming' rather than of 'being', ascribing an *inclusive* and *prospective* character to identity.

In contrast, the new identity in England was *exclusionary* and *retrospective*, resembling Englishness or perhaps Britishness but with English motifs at its core. This position was often articulated via strategies stressing difference: between the English and the non-English British nations, implicitly, and, between the English/British, and ethnic minorities and Continental Europe, explicitly. Unlike Cyprus where contents of identity were mainly created out of the present, in England, they were often formed by pre-constituted meanings from the past. These tended to correspond to the ethnic model of nationhood, including the idea of a homogeneous English culture and the theory of the Anglo-Saxon origins of the English. Though this position was grounded on the past, the rationale for its construction was to stabilise the traditional closures of English/British identity in the future.

The construction of an inclusive and prospective Cypriot identity in Cyprus can be construed as constitutive of broader processes leading towards what may be called a post-Greek order. The enactment of this order is linked to a set of processes which were taking place during this period – the officialisation of a Cypriot identity in state ideology, the rise of Cypriotism in society, the disenchantment with Greece, and the decline of Greek nationalism on the island[119]. From a historical perspective, the focus on Cypriotness is indicative of its repositioning in the Greek Cypriot community from the margin to the centre, making this time period "the golden era of Cypriotism"[120].

The effort to establish a post-Greek order is also reflected in, and reinforced by, the usage of transformation and relativisation strategies. The stress on transformation mainly aimed at changing aspects of the well-established Greekness, especially the irredentist element of *enosis*, into a Cypriot identity. The various types of relativisation strategies were

primarily used in relation to problematic acts and events in the past and were designed to trivialise and even exclude them from collective memory on the grounds that they were in sharp contrast to the desired future.

In England, the projection of a retrospective and exclusive identity can be seen in part as a manifestation of, and a contribution to, a process of change leading to a post-British society[121]. This kind of order was marked, apart from the decay of the historical Britishness, by an assault on this sort of identity by various forms of sub-British, ethnic nationalism, including an English variety, taking place since the 1970s. "There are", as Kumar argues, "emerging efforts to mark out an English identity, one that might enable England to take its place – in Britain or outside it – alongside the other better-defined British nations"[122]. From a historical perspective, this attempt is indicative of a shift in the formation of English identity, from a muted cultivation of Englishness to a more public and plain promotion at the expense now of Britishness.

The making of a closed and backward-looking identity can be also understood in terms of wider processes of resistance to the establishment of a post-colonial and post-national order. These processes are reflected in a clearer way in the perpetuation strategies that were also prominent in the new identity and that were often employed in relation to ethno-cultural motifs of nationhood. The function of this kind of strategies was to defend and strengthen what was perceived as an embattled British/English identity, notably an already institutionalised culture, *habitus* and autonomy. For Hall, this tendency points to an attempt "to reconstruct purified identities, to restore coherence, 'closure' and Tradition, in the face of hybridity and diversity"[123].

Hence, the origins and motivations of identity reconstitution in England were partly in the proliferation of new, competing, and often conflicting, positions of identification. In other words, the new nationalist discourse was partly constituted on the basis of reaction to deconstructive challenges to the nation and resistance to pressures from both 'below' (by ethnic minorities, multiculturalists and others) and 'above' (by European structures) the nation-state to renegotiate the entrenched image of the national 'self' and adapt it to changed or changing circumstances.

Compared with England, the process of identity reconstruction in Cyprus did not emerge in opposition to 'outside' pressures to transform the historical image of the collective

'self'. Rather, it arose from 'within' the community, from a perceived need, not to return to the past, but to break with it. Moreover, and unlike the case of England in which this position emerged as a reaction against the possible loss of identity, this process proceeded in opposition to the prospect of the continuity of identity. This is because traditional Greekness was held responsible for invasion, violent displacement and division[124].

It follows that politicians and intellectuals across the two settings responded in different ways to change. While Centrist-Leftist politicians and intellectuals in Cyprus sought to rethink and redefine who 'we' are and where 'we' might be going in light of changes, political and intellectual Conservatives in England tried to restate and preserve the traditional image of the national 'self' under transformed conditions. Formulated differently, national identity became *an object of renegotiation* in the face of changes in Cyprus while it was *a terrain of resistance* to change in England.

The readiness and denial to renegotiate the content and boundaries of identity is based upon, and reveals, contrasting views on the nature of nation and identity among politicians and intellectuals in the two settings. In Cyprus, their reading of this concept corresponds to the modernist perspective on nations: these are non-essentialist entities of choice that are never fixed and stable but fluid and subject to the play of politics and history. In England, on the other hand, the tendency to reaffirm and strengthen national identity and the defence of the entrenched image of the nation is based on essentialist nationalist claims, notably the view of nations as primordial and unchanging essences.

However, strategies of transformation were also evident in the new identity in England, projecting a prospective sub-position; and, perpetuation strategies in the new identity in Cyprus, giving expression to a retrospective position. In England, the prospective position was also inclusive and this was the effect of unification strategies utilised however in an implicit manner. In Cyprus, an exclusive character was also ascribed to the retrospective position through strategic focus on difference.

In the English setting, transformation strategies were primarily used in relation to the post-war Britishness and its main components – social democracy, state welfare, the nationalised economy, social libertarianism. The purpose of their utilisation was to dismantle this relatively well-established identity and instead to construct a new form of Britishness based on market liberalism, enterprise, individualism, reduced state welfare, social discipline

and a strong but small government. This tendency in identity formation can be seen as a reflection of, and a driving force for, wider socio-economic processes at this specific historical time: deindustrialisation and the re-organisation of capitalism, the enactment of a free economy, the dismantling of social democracy, the destabilisation of British unity and attempts to restore the legitimacy and authority of the British state[125]. The making of this subject position emerged partly in reaction to Britain's decline, mainly economic, as well as to what was perceived as the crisis of the state and social disorder. Its aim was to engage with change and to overcome unbearable present.

Hence, the overall new construct of identity in England was simultaneously retrospective *and* prospective. The prospective sub-position, like the retrospective, was formed by selected and recontextualised features from the past. However, unlike the retrospective that indented to stabilise the past and project it into the future, the prospective position was articulated to raise economic performance, to justify reduced welfare benefits, to enact a market-oriented culture and generally, to contribute to the creation and legitimacy of a neo-liberal order. "During the 1980s", as Hall comments on this contradictory tendency in identity (re)construction, "the rhetoric of Thatcherism sometimes inhabited both these aspects of what Tom Nairn calls the 'Janus-face' of nationalism...: looking back to the past imperial glories and 'Victorian values' while simultaneously undertaking a kind of modernization in preparation for a new stage of global capitalist competition"[126].

Moreover, the overall new identity in England was exclusive *and* inclusive, in the sense that all ethnic, racial and national groups in Britain could be part of the renewed British *Staatsnation*.

In Cyprus, perpetuation strategies were often associated with the making of a position drawing on semantic elements from traditional Greekness. The purpose of this specific bias was to reproduce and preserve the central constituents of identity, notably the thesis of the Greek descent of the Greek Cypriots and their Greco-Christian culture, which were to be further reinforced with the return of (a reconstructed) Greek nationalism in Cyprus in the 1990s[127]. That these ethno-cultural motifs tended not to become objects of renegotiation had two effects: the reproduction of the assimilation of the Greek ethnicity of Cyprus into Hellenism and the maintenance of the historical exclusion of Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus.

Thus, the discourse about the national 'self' was simultaneously prospective *and* retrospective, inclusive *and* exclusive. Some attempts to resolve the tension arising out of the uneasy co-existence of these opposing positions were mainly discernible in New Cyprus Association texts, through the post-modern doctrine of dual identity.

The co-existence of a Greek position with its focus on preservation, difference and exclusion, and a Cypriot one with its stress on transformation, unity and inclusion, can be seen as an expression of what Papadakis calls "the dilemma of the Greek Cypriot identity". "On the one hand, Greek Cypriots' dependence on Greece and belief in their Greek origins and cultural heritage requires emphasis on the 'Greek' aspect. On the other hand, the need for rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots leads to an emphasis on the common 'Cypriot' dimension"[128]. Although this dilemma had long existed within the community, it emerged in a radical form after 1974.

There is a second possible reading of these contradictory tendencies in identity construction, bringing to the fore what Bhabha has called "a particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation"[129]. At this specific historical moment, Greek Cypriot politicians and intellectuals initiated a project of transforming their collective identity on the basis of Cypriot narrative resources and simultaneously maintaining some of its traditional Greek conventions and meanings.

To a large extent, the tension between the irreconcilable forces of tradition and modernisation, of unification and difference, of inclusion and exclusion, of culture and politics, worked against the discursive construction of a coherent national identity in each setting. Instead, the new points of national attachment inhabited aspects of hybridity, contradiction, fragmentation and ambivalence.

The same features characterise national identity in school histories prior to the production of new history textbooks in Cyprus and England. At the same time, however, they take a rather different form and meaning deriving from the particular genre of history textbook. Both these issues – types of history textbook genre and constructs of national identity in school histories – are examined in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Contexts of reception: education, school history and national identity in Cyprus and England

5.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a historical analysis of educational patterns in relation to history teaching and writing and national identity construction in school historiography across the two settings prior to the production of new history textbooks. Special emphasis is placed on identifying the major features of history teaching as a specific occasion of pedagogic communication and of the history textbook genre, both of which are artefacts of the education system. Emphasis is also placed on defining how identity was constituted in histories, and, on finding continuities and discontinuities over time in all the above micro-domains of the educational field.

There are two reasons to present such an analysis here. First, specifying the kind of identity that was historically created in textbooks will contribute to an understanding of the extent to which identity in the newly-written textbooks represented (or not) new positions of identification and was influenced by the new discourses of intellectuals and politicians.

The second reason is to provide a sketch of what may be called 'the context of reception' – the concrete context-specific circumstances of the educational field and its sub-domain of history teaching and writing. This is an important activity, for it can identify pre-existing practices that could have affected, inflected and deflected the new political and intellectual discourses of identity. Here, the thesis is informed by the work of Ball who asserts that a discourse never enters an institutional vacuum but always confronts other realities. It faces a context of response that has its own logic and history[1].

The argument of this chapter is that a Greek-centred education, what is called here 'an education for national belongingness and cultural preservation', had prevailed in the Cypriot context of reception from the late nineteenth century. The 'traditional history' was

a central aspect of this educational form. The aim of history, as of education in general, was to take an active role in the making of Greek subjectivities. Whilst education and history in Cyprus are described by a pattern of continuity, discontinuity was the main aspect of the education system and school history in England. The 'new history' and what is designated here 'an education for cultural pluralism and anti-racism' began to colonise the context of reception from about the 1970s, replacing the 'traditional history' and the model of 'an education for imperial and national identification and superiority'. These educational forms had been dominant at least from the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century and were aimed at contributing to the creation of imperial national subjects. Despite this important difference, the contexts of reception across the two settings were characterised by a number of commonalities concerning the construction of national identity in history textbooks – ambivalence, fragmentation, inconsistencies and heterogeneity.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is an account of the context of response in England while the second analyses the Cypriot context of reception. The space allocated to the first part is however greater than to the second. This is mainly due to the nature of the argument put forward here: unlike the Cypriot context, the English context of reception is marked by discontinuity in the form of education and history.

5.2.1 An education for national and imperial identification and superiority

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the period of the development of mass schooling in England, a national and imperial form of education was endorsed at every level, from government department to school classroom[2]. This model emphasised that the main purpose of education was to cultivate an imperial national identity in children. It aimed at constructing patriotic and imperial nationals by giving them a certain knowledge about the nation's past and culture and a sense of destiny in the present and future, by providing them with specific ways of reading the nation's geo-body, and, by inculcating in them a set of opinions, emotions and attitudes about and towards the 'self' and 'others'. Thus, this educational form emerged as an effect of and gained its legitimacy from non-educational discourses on nationhood (see Chapter Three), and in turn, served to reproduce and distribute these discourses in society.

This model of education firstly appeared in public schools. The mission of these schools was to train army officers willing to defend the Empire, competent administrators to run the imperial state as well as the nation's prospective engineers, doctors, technicians, educationists and traders. This task was to be primarily carried out via a certain curriculum which was used to constitute a particular type of *homo nationalis* characterised by ideals of selfless service and emotional attachment to *patria*; the willingness to sacrifice one's self for the national good; the duty to enlighten and civilise the world; a belief in the nation's racial and cultural superiority *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world; the qualities of leadership, honour, endurance and integrity as well as the values of discipline, diligence, obedience and thrift; and, the will to govern inferior races[3].

The key features of the public school gradually filtered into the developing primary and secondary state schooling. However, the function of this type of education was of a rather different nature in mass education compared to elite public schools. This model was used, firstly, to encourage the lower classes to believe in their socio-economic and political superiority to the rest of the Empire. As MacKenzie puts it, "the domestic underclass could become the imperial overclass"[4]. It also served the interests of the dominant social order, promoting the three obligations of a 'good' citizen and patriot – voting, work within the industrial system, and military duty[5]. Finally, it functioned to symbolically bring together all social classes into a single national family. In Tomlinson's formulation, "all classes could unite in a comforting national, patriotic solidarity"[6].

5.2.2 The traditional history and the genre of traditional history textbook

In the context of mass state education, history became a compulsory subject in primary and secondary curricula[7]. Apart from the requirement to teach the subject, the state was exercising no specific control over the actual form and content of historical syllabuses. Hence, "history became a matter for historians and history teachers, both as individuals, and as interest groups"[8]. There was another manifestation of and factor contributing to teacher autonomy – the absence of officially prescribed or approved history textbooks[9]. The

commissioning, production and distribution of textbooks was, and still is, the venture of commercial publishers who were not subject to any vetting procedures.

Despite this milieu of freedom, there was uniformity regarding the justification for history's endorsement as a school subject. Its main aim was to foster a national imperial identity[10]. The 1905 primary schools regulation of the Board of Education declared: "[i]t is, therefore, important that from the history lessons they [children] should learn something about their nationality which distinguishes them from the people of other countries. They cannot understand this unless they are taught how the British nation grew up, and how the mother country in her turn has founded daughter countries beyond the seas"[11].

The history's task to develop pupils' awareness of their nationality was grounded on the view that the teaching of history is a medium of handing on a particular kind of knowledge concerning the past. This view can be deduced from an official enquiry of 1911 into history's role in school, which declared that this subject can help:

> to stimulate and train the mental powers of the child; then by means of those powers to bring the child to the comprehension of a certain body, and a particular kind, of truth, and finally by means of this truth to develop in him (*sic*) some grains of political wisdom and some notions of civic duty[12].

Gilbert, from whom this citation is taken, identifies three different modes of justifying the inclusion of history in curricula: the growth of the child's mental abilities, the transmission of factual knowledge and the promotion of citizenship. A particular hierarchical allocation of importance to these rationales is also embedded in this extract – the making of dutiful and patriotic nationals is the core element, a certain body of historical truth and its transmission is the medium of constituting the national subjects, and the promotion of the pupil's mental growth is the precondition for the comprehension of information. This order of importance is the main characteristic of traditional history. In Slater's formulation, this form of history teaching sees "history *primarily* as a socializing instrument, emphasizing the knowledge and *acceptance* of society rather than a critical understanding of it"[13].

Moreover, the citation from the official enquiry indicates that the content of history was accepted as 'truth'. This perspective on historical knowledge is associated with the

"commonsense" or "grand narrative" conception of the nature of history[14]. This position stresses that history is a body of knowledge about past reality that merely reflects, in Ranke's famous phrase, 'how it actually was'. This, in turn, is based upon the ideal of scholarly objectivity and its assumptions that there is a historical truth corresponding to the past and that this truth is value-free. Such principles equate the past with history, position historians as disinterested arbitrators of knowledge, and construct accounts of past events as definitive.

The articulation of historical content as truth was also compatible with traditional pedagogy. The core element of the pedagogic act in traditional school was the transmission and acquisition of disciplinary knowledge[15]. This form of pedagogy was dominant not only in the period 1880-1914 but also for most part of the twentieth century.

The purposes of education in general and history teaching in particular, the grand narrative philosophy of history and traditional pedagogy entered the constitution of the history schoolbook genre. As Kress argues, "in considering any genre, it is necessary to bear in mind the total interconnectedness of features of the social occasion and features of the genre"[16]. Following Kress, the history textbook genre is seen as the writers' perception of their task (which is itself a creation of the education system), their view of the discipline of history and its constitution, and their perception of themselves and their audience[17]. Veel and Coffin extend the definition of textbook genre to include the idea of textbook content[18]. Thus, the key features of what may be called 'the traditional history textbook' were:

- Textbooks address the reader as pupil and the pupil as the assimilator of historical knowledge. The students were placed in a position of observation, were constituted as the nation's children and were perceived as a *tabula rasa*. Some texts were written for a broader British child-audience, while others for an exclusive English readership.
- The authors positioned themselves within the national boundaries and saw their task as that of explaining 'what had actually happened' in the past in a concise and simple way. Thus, the role of the writer was that of a teacher and narrator – a knower who 'tells' and gives the reader an 'unfolding of the truth'.

- Finally, the writers viewed history as a body of knowledge for pupils to engage with and assimilate; an authenticity that reflects the truth about events in the past[19].

In terms of content, the traditional textbook genre drew on the academic discourse of university historians[20]. The content was organised on the basis of chronology and was divided into historical periods. It was also marked by cause-and-effect relations between events, by fixed explanations, and, by the notion of progress to a better present. Textbooks were also characterised by "the centrality of British, or even English, history"[21]. Military and constitutional history, with its inclination to extol national achievements and to recount the deeds of great statesmen, generals and legislators, as well as the overseas expansion of the British state and other imperial motifs, dominated school stories. In the interwar period, economic and social themes began to appear in textbooks, albeit "hesitatingly" to employ Berghahn and Schissler's terminology[22].

5.2.3 The new history and the genre of new history textbook

What has been described above was, in Slater's words, "an inherited consensus" on history teaching and learning[23]. This consensus, real or imaginary, survived for many decades until a change in the writing and teaching of history took place in the 1960s and 1970s. This change refers to the emergence of new history. In the eyes of the advocates of this paradigm of school history, the main purpose of the subject was to teach history as a scientific process, thus laying less emphasis on the assimilation of knowledge and more on the acquisition of the skills and concepts that define history as a unique discipline[24]. Historical thinking – the collection and interrogation of evidence, the formation of arguments based on such evidence, empathetic understanding, the study of events from different perspectives, the realisation that every conclusion is a hypothesis to be modified or rejected in the light of fresh evidence – was now held to be essential for teaching.

However, new history, as Aldrich points out, was not new at all. Inquiry methods, the use of sources, the cultivation of a variety of skills, both of a specifically historical, and of a general, nature, and teaching 'how' rather than teaching 'what' have formed a central part of the aims and methods of school history since the beginning of the twentieth

century[25]. Gilbert agrees with this view but stresses that the priority given to the growth of the child's thinking and skills has changed since the 1970s. These concerns "have now become for a large and influential group '...the first purpose of teaching history, and the chief way of defending its place in the curriculum'"[26]. In other words, from the 1970s onwards, the transmission of knowledge and the cultivation of national subjectivities tended to be less emphasised in history education, and the promotion of the child's mental development and critical thinking to be highlighted. "Historical thinking", as Slater puts it, "is *primarily* mind-opening, *not* socializing"[27].

This shift in emphasis on history's purposes gained its legitimacy from progressive child-centred pedagogy, epitomised by the Plowden Report (1967)[28]. This pedagogic model articulates different relations among knowledge, teachers and pupils from the traditional ones. Knowledge is a medium for educational ends and not an end in itself. The teacher is no longer its monopolist but the facilitator of learning. And the student is an active learner who can create its own understanding of the world.

The redefinition of priorities of history education was given further value by the history's shift in university from the ideal of the Voice of History to that of heteroglossia[29]. This new philosophy underlines the multiplicity of diverse and opposing interpretations of the past. In Füredi's formulation, "[t]here is no history with a capital H; there are many competing histories"[30]. The underlying assumption of this paradigm is that historical reality is socially constituted, meaning that 'history' is now separated from 'the past', that the act of writing history is one of human creation depending on the historian's ideological values and stance on the epistemology of knowledge, and, that history is never definitive.

But not all historians have subscribed to this philosophy. For example, Kennedy, having rejected relativism but recognising heteroglossia, subjectivity and fluidity in history, urges that the quest for a less biased, more objective understanding of the past should still be the aim of historical study[31]. This task can be reached through a process of analysis and debate in which a range of positions and arguments are considered. According to Jenkins, the process of seeing both sides, weighing things up and adjudicating is the dominant mode of creating historical knowledge in late modernity[32].

The main features of new history teaching shaped in part what may be called as 'the new history textbook genre':

- History is both a creative art, cultivating the child's empathetic, imaginative, logical and deductive thinking, and a literary subject that involves reading and making sense of a whole range of historical sources;
- Pupils, as young historians, can actively construct their own understanding of the past by being engaged in historical inquiries which need resolution;
- The authors' task, like that of teachers, is to create an environment that supports the learner's investigation of the past from a range of competing and conflicting perspectives and historical sources, and his or her appreciation of historical skills[33].

In the area of content, the new history textbook genre was influenced by the novel academic historiographical developments of the post-war period, with more cultural and socio-economic motifs being included alongside political and imperial ones. In particular, school historical writing saw "the urgent filling of gaps in what would otherwise remain a partial and one-sided history"[34]. That is, the broadening of the textbooks thematic base, firstly, to encompass once marginalised narratives, such as industrialisation and its diverse impact on social classes, social movements and protest for reform, the customs, manners and everyday life of the ordinary people, Britain's impact on colonial subjects; and secondly, to give voice to marginalised groups such as the poor, women, children, the common people, the blacks.

Phillips points out that by the late 1980s, the new history (or at least some of its features) had penetrated the practices of history teaching and as a result, a new pedagogic discourse about the nature and purposes of historical study in school had emerged. This focused on the view that subject should not be exclusively associated with the transmission of knowledge but that it should be taught in a way which inculcates a range of intellectual skills and historical concepts via a predominantly evidence-based approach[35].

Other available evidence suggests that school history, prior to the production of new textbooks, brought together elements from both traditional and new history. In his survey of teachers' practices, Truman draws the conclusion that "a substantial number of the teachers prefer to marry (or have come to accept) traditional and new history practices rather than change radically their everyday procedures and established opinions solely on the merits of either ideology". For history teachers, he further stresses, the major concern was the "practical and philosophical balance between old and new perspectives":

> a genuine desire to be able to develop critical thinking skills and an understanding of historical methodology in pupils without abandoning some cherished characteristics of their former rationale and practice such as chronological perspective, editorial skills, an appropriate depth of content and the opportunity to use the dramatic storyline[36].

Likewise, Gilbert points out that the blending of elements from traditional and new history also manifested in the declared aims of history textbook writers: an often-stated objective was the transmission of information for pupils to acquire and display in examinations, and another one, the development in students a variety of skills, both of a general, and of a particularly historical, nature[37].

5.2.4 An education for cultural pluralism and anti-racism

The re-structuring of school history was part of a broader effort to reconceptualise the location of education in a post-imperial society marked by immigration from the New Commonwealth. Two arguments are put forward in this section regarding this historical moment. The first is that it made possible the articulation of a new educational discourse – what is called here 'an education for cultural pluralism and anti-racism'. Second, this form of education was a key aspect of a broader political and intellectual discourse of a multi-ethnic British identity.

In the relevant literature, the state's response to the presence of ethnic minority pupils in schools is divided into three phases: the assimilationist phase of the 1950s through to the mid 1960s; the integrationist phase that dominated policy up until the early to mid 1970s; and the pluralist phase that commenced in the mid-to-late 1970s and continued until

the 1988 Education Reform Act[38]. The assimilation model involved cultural conformity on the part of migrants and was underpinned by a belief in the ethnic superiority of the host society. Although it was based on the acceptance of the majority group's values, the integration model replaced the idea of uniformity with a commitment to diversity. The multicultural approach, which for Grosvenor, existed "in the sphere of articulation rather than in practice"[39], is the object of a more detailed analysis since it forms an aspect of the context within which new history textbooks were produced in the early 1990s.

For many scholars, the most overt official effort to define a multicultural education was the Swann Report (1985)[40]. In the Report, the starting point of the effort to define this educational form is the devaluation of the existing curricula and textbooks. The intent of denigration is to construct the need for a change. The source of derision and the legitimacy of change is a 'gap' between reality and representation. This need for change is implied in the following quotation: "[t]he population of Britain has changed radically in the past forty years; books and curricula have changed little"[41].

The need to bridge that 'gap' through reform is often the motif that follows in the Report: "[o]ur society is a multi-cultural and multi-racial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society"[42]. Thus, a set of new aims and objectives for education were formulated, which were informed by the writings of UNESCO and the League of Nations[43], and which were held to be relevant to "ALL schools, NOT just those with a multi-ethnic population"[44]. That is, education, according to the Report, should help the pupil to:

- develop sensitivity and tolerance towards the cultural identities of various groups;
- become aware of the multicultural nature of Britain and develop attitudes of mutual understanding amongst its various ethnicities;
- overcome assumptions about the superiority of modern Western culture;
- understand the interdependence of nations and both recognise and accept the normality of various interpretations of the world which they need to open-mindedly examine.

What lies behind these rather vague aims is a belief that education can play a key role in preparing pupils for a new national, multinational and global, citizenship by developing in them a certain cluster of attitudes, behavioural dispositions and opinions.

The cultural pluralist model of education is also seen as having a major role to play in combating racism: "[o]ur curriculum must acknowledge our multi-ethnic society and also take the issue with racism"[45]. This task is based on the recognition that there was both institutional and individual racial prejudice at the time in Britain, within and outside the educational system. According to the Report, overcoming racism is concerned with change in the negative attitudes towards a people of a certain race or colour which are based on the belief that this people's identity is inferior.

A key component of this form of education is the idea of school history as a medium for countering racism and making Britain a pluralist society[46]. It is stressed that this subject can help to overcome the negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities, either by reviewing textbooks and replacing the sections that promote biased views of any ethnicity, or, by keeping these opinions, but presenting them as the prevailing attitudes of certain historical times and raising the issues of prejudice with pupils. For the Report, history can also promote a sense of belongingness among the minority groups and encourage the acceptance of cultural diversity from the majority group. This can be accomplished through the reform of history to include the patterns of migration as well as the factors which have led certain groups to settle in Britain.

It is finally inferred from the Report that the model of a multicultural and anti-racist education was an expression of "a redefined concept of what it means to live in British society"[47]. Writing in the late 1980s and alluding to this Report, Tomlinson made the same point. "In seeking to develop multicultural and non-racist education in white areas, schools are actively participating in a redefinition of 'what it means to live in British society' and what it means to 'be British' "[48].

A closer look at the Report reveals that an attempt to reconstruct British identity is at its starting point and it is upon this redefined version that the proposals for educational

reform are built and justified[49]. The idea of a pluralist and multi-racial nation is apparent in the habitual depiction of the metonymy 'society' (for nation) as "multi-cultural", "multi-racial", "pluralist" and "culturally diverse". This wording generates and evokes an entity which values the diversity within it, whilst united by the cohesive force of the common aims, attributes and values. The nation's features of heterogeneity are projected to be of ethno-cultural nature only – descent, race, customs and religion. Its unifying characteristics are articulated to be largely of civic-territorial character: Britain as the common home; a common language and a common political and legal system; obedience to the current laws of the country and other civic duties and rights whose main feature is a sense of equality among the members of the British community; and, an idea of a tolerant habitus marked by anti-racist attitudes towards other peoples within and outside the country, by a respect of Britain's and the world's cultural diversity, by a belief in the equality of all races, and by a commitment to freedom, democracy and justice.

What had allowed the Report to put forward the idea of a new imagined community is an understanding of the British nation as dynamic and ever changing, adapting and absorbing new ideas and influences, and as already pluralist in terms of history, region, culture and origins. In this respect, the new nation is just an extension of this existing pluralism to embrace ethnic minority communities. Kumar points out that this culturally and racially diverse British *Staatsnation* was further promoted from the mid-1990s onwards by New Labour, also by artists and intellectuals on the left and in the liberal camp[50]. This post-national and post-imperial identity was also constituted to replace an imperial national identity, the analysis of which, as was expressed in school historiography, is the focus of the following section.

5.2.5 The construction of national identity in school histories

This section attempts to extract from the available literature the major propositions and strategies and forms of linguistic expression of identity in history textbooks used in England prior to the 1990s. Of the five content-related categories discussed in Chapter Two, the making of a common national past tends to dominate school historiography. This is explained by the textbook genre which is concerned with this category. The making of

the other categories of identity discourse – space, culture, habitus, present and future – are embedded in the representation of the past. With the exception of a typical habitus that predominantly features in the literature, the other three categories occur less often. Perhaps this is due to either the specific genre or that they have not been studied adequately, most likely because of the narrow definitions given to the concept of identity focusing only on the nation's past and its national character.

It is argued that it is possible to discern two identity constructs in textbooks – an English and a British position of identification. These are projected by three historical narrative strands, each with different plot, actors and setting – that of constitutional evolution, of imperial expansion, and of society, economy and culture. The co-articulation of Englishness and Britishness is a main source of ambivalence and hybridity that describes identity construction in the domain of school history. The opening motif of school histories is often the origins of the English people.

The founding story of the English race

History texts of the period 1880-1914 located the origins of the English in the "conquest of Britain" by the Anglo-Saxons[51]. The conquest was seen as a gradual process and its outcome was the substitution of a 'weaker race' by a 'stronger race'. Often, this message was conveyed by a transformation strategy, as these quotes illustrate: "... Britons, abandoned to themselves, were destined to be driven out, or extinguished, or absorbed, according to that apparently inevitable law of nature by which the weaker race disappears before the stronger. We are of that stronger race..."; thus, "Britain had become England, a land that is, not of Britons, but of Englishmen".

The Anglo-Saxon advent came to also occupy a special position in histories of the interwar and post-war years[52]. Through a positive presentation strategy often expressed by predications in the form of epithets, the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings were attributed a bundle of positive prejudiced traits. "They were fierce and bitter fighters, and were also brave and proud", and, "they had many fine and noble qualities". They were also depicted as "our forefathers" and "our ancestors", evoking an English group of people, in which both

readers and writers were positioned as among its members and were linked to these folks by descent, blood, habitus and racial features.

According to Ahier, a few writers told children "that their origins are mixed, and that they inherited some aspects of their national character from such a mixture"[53]. The assimilation strategy can be seen in the following extract: "[w]e Angles or English are a mixed people. We inherit something from the earliest civilised people who lived in Britain – the Celts"[54]. This example contradicts the purity thesis of the English race, constructed by a dissimilation strategy (e.g. expressed as above by the opposites weaker race vs. stronger race), and often promoted both in educational and non-educational nationalist narratives (see Chapter Three). It also contradicts the popular image of the Celts as uncivilised.

The narrative of constitutional progress

Chancellor demonstrates that the Whig interpretation of the nation's constitutional advance was one of the main modes of representing a shared past in nineteenth and early twentieth century histories. The intent of school historians was to explain how liberty evolved and the product of their effort was a story of a set of constitutional episodes, each leading to greater degrees of freedom. "We have seen England and Great Britain", wrote a 1911 textbook, "growing", amongst other things, "more and more free"[55]. The rational end-result of the gradual and cumulative growth of the constitution, and the nation's present, was parliamentary democracy. "Britain is today one of the most democratic countries in Europe", wrote a textbook in 1901[56].

The origins of liberty were identified as being in Anglo-Saxon times. "England had been free under the Saxons", a textbook noted; another stated that "the Saxons, as I have said, loved freedom, and loved justice, in a rough but true way"; and a final example reads: "the seeds of our national character are sought in the lives and heroes of early England, from whom we trace the beginnings of our best habits and institutions"[57]. School stories, as these utterances indicate, drew upon an unchanging notion of an Anglo-Saxon *habitus* – characterised by a love of freedom and justice – and upon democratic institutions – the most important being that of parliament – to deduce not only an English nation but also to

invoke its unbroken existence since these early days. The message of national continuity was also expressed in an explicit manner. "In this story of a thousand years it is the character of a people that comes through", wrote a textbook in 1962[58]. Implicit in the above statements is also the thesis of the English origins of British democracy.

The genesis of constitutional liberty was similarly located in the mist of time with the enactment of Magna Carta. This proposition was realised by such phrases as "the foundation of our liberties" and "the groundwork of English freedom" that tended to co-occur with this Act. In these phrases, the possessive pronoun 'our' and the epithet 'English' highlight the locus of beneficial to all, utilised as a homogenisation strategy to put forward the reading of this act as valuable for all the English. The same locus is embedded in the following extract. At the same time, this example highlights that the motif of liberty was often presented in a way emphasising national superiority over Europe: "[i]t rescued our ancestors from much of the oppressive tyranny of the feudal system, and the supreme happiness we enjoy as a nation over the rest of Europe we owe principally to the sense and virtues of those who raised the invaluable bulwark of English history"[59].

England had been free under the Saxons, it was said above, "but the sort of freedom enjoyed was not exactly the sort of freedom required in a present state of civilisation". Here, a strategy of devaluating the initial condition of liberty can be inferred which is expressed by an explicit comparison between the past and the present. This strategy is manifested as a 'yes, but' type of argument, in the sense that 'yes, there was freedom, but its character was flawed'. This scheme was designed to convey that the early constitution was imperfect, and it was upon this message that the idea of constitutional progress was built in historical writing.

The nature of imperfection revolves around the idea that liberty was limited by monarchy and traces of this idea are to be found, for instance, in the negative denotation of kings or queens as "ferocious tyrants", "hereditary dictators", "intolerable sovereigns". A struggle for power between Parliament and the Crown was subsequently narrated taking place in medieval and early modern times. Its winner was the former. "The struggle in this reign was between absolute and constitutional monarchy. And the latter prevailed"[60]. Thus,

the transfer of power from monarchy to parliament was specified as the essence of constitutional evolution.

From Gilbert's study on textbooks consumed in schools between the late 1950s and the early 1980, a rather different phase of constitutional progress is extracted[61]. It takes place in modern times and refers to the inclusion of marginalised groups into parliament's rule and the promotion of civic equity. The nature of constitutional imperfection was now exclusion and inequalities, and the struggle was between the British Parliament and the British people.

Gilbert draws the conclusion that, as late as the early 1980s, school historians could not escape the teleological construction of the past, as "a triumphant and uninterrupted march towards political democracy"[62]. The following quote, which he takes from a textbook of 1966, is indicative of this persistence. It conveys this message by drawing an analogy between the constitution and a growing human organism:

> Just as a child grows up to maturity, learning by experience and teaching, so a country must develop its own institutions and ideas, growing through its history into a responsible nation. Some of the lessons are hard, some of the experiences are shattering, like the Civil War in the reign of Charles I, but all play their part. We in Britain have developed gradually towards a country where the law protects our liberties and Parliament represents the majority of our wishes[63].

This text also points up the ambivalence that marked identity formation in history: elements from Englishness and Britishness were mixed together. That is, the Whig historicity is drawn upon from English identity and the motif of the British Parliament as the representative of the nation's will alludes to British identity. Thus, it is uncertain whether the terms 'country' and 'nation', the deictic 'we' and the possessive pronoun 'our' denote the English or the British. Similarly, the term 'Britain' appears ambivalent in terms of whether it refers to Britain or England.

Implicit in the second phase of constitutional improvement was the constitution of a typical British character[64]. The characteristics which were said to be unique in Britons are pragmatism, self-restraint, common sense, a sense of humour, honesty, a love of order and

law, bias against foreigners, courage, modesty and kindness. The emphasis on British distinctiveness was accompanied by an attempt to implicitly foster British unity. That is, political figures such as the Irishmen Wellington and O'Connor, the Englishmen Baldwin, Pitt and Peel, and the Scotsman Hardie were represented to epitomise all these traits.

The strand of imperial expansion

The projection of a shared past in histories that was circulated in schools prior to the 1990s was also associated with "the story of the Empire"[65]. In this narrative, the intent of writers was to describe how a small island nation had managed to gain control of vast territories and peoples. As a textbook put it, "history has to tell, among other things, how it is that we have come to possess such a large part of the world"[66].

To articulate the imperial story, textbooks often combined three strategies: the strategy of distinguishing the colonising 'self' and the colonised 'others', of emphasising 'our' superiority over 'them', and of negative 'other'-presentation and positive 'self'-presentation. Through these strategies, a symbolic boundary between a superior white world of good, light, progress, civilisation, Christianity, democracy, justice and prosperity, and an inferior non-white world of evils, darkness, backwardness, conflicts, poverty, cruelty and savagery was insinuated[67]. The justification of the expansion of British power in the world was built upon this Manichean world of the coloniser and the colonised.

Glendenning, like many others, shows that 'other'-pejoration was projected by a set of prejudiced, deprecatory traits explicitly predicated onto the 'others', notably the non-white races. Hence, the Africans were regarded as uncivilised and violent, the West Indians as idle and childish, the Indians as dishonest and immoral, and all of them as totally unfit to rule themselves and effect change in their backward condition[68]. These stereotypes served as legitimising devices for establishing and perpetuating imperial rule. There was also a tendency to be conveyed in two distinctive ways: by derogatory modes of referring to 'them' such as "barbarians" and "savages", and, through debasing predications assigned to 'their' character such as "uncivilised", "lazy", "inferior", "brutal" and "irresponsible".

The pejorative prejudices against 'others' were often articulated as mere facts. As Yeandle comments on histories, "[i]nformation was conveyed as 'definite knowledge': as uncontested truth"[69]. One piece of evidence which illustrates this point is the following statement: "[t]he [West Indian] population is lazy, vicious, and incapable of any serious improvement, or of work except under compulsion"[70]. Here, this utterance gives the status of factualness to 'their' alleged laziness and brutality through simple present tense. It also constructs certain relations between authorship and readership. Writers are the irrelevant servants of objectively established truth and children are the passive assimilators of that authoritative knowledge. This articulation of pedagogic relations tended to prevail in textbooks and, as said earlier, was a main feature of the traditional history-book genre.

The justification of imperialism was also backed by argumentation, notably through causal locus of advantage which can be stated as follows: contact with 'us' was beneficial to 'them' because 'we' took the benefits of civilisation to 'them'[71]. This *topos* was evident in a particular wording. For instance the 'maturity' metaphor, according to which, colonies had advanced from infancy to political manhood (sic) through 'our' guidance, and, the phrases "civilising mission" and "the job of civilisation" depicting the colonised as beneficiaries, the colonisers as benefactors and empire as a force of good. The following extract also contains this locus: "[i]t is true that India was won by the sword, but England has given peace and prosperity to 300 million of that vast dependency..."[72].

Apart from the traditional equation of England and Britain, this passage, notably the 'it is true, but' figure, highlights a trivialisation strategy employed to relativise 'our' aggression against 'them' and this is achieved by balancing it against the benefits of civilisation. Violence is further played down by euphemistic denotation – 'India was won by the sword', instead of 'we' invaded 'their' land. Preiswerk and Perrot identify a number of lexical euphemisms in textbooks about imperialism such as "exploration", "advance", "settlement", "benevolent intervention", "expansion", "wonderful development"[73]. These linguistic devices signal a tendency in histories to project a positive image of the 'self' by hiding 'our' negative action. This image was reinforced by omissions, of awkward events in the march to imperial dominance, and by shifting moral responsibility for conflict on to 'others'[74].

The locus of empire as beneficial to 'us' was also used to legitimise expansionism, stressing that contact with 'them' was also motivated by self-interest, notably in industry, trade, employment, food and emigration[75]. Yet, the textbooks' focus, as MacKenzie notes, was on "the moral duties of Empire rather than its economic benefits"[76].

The debasing attributions against 'them' implied a bundle of positive ones towards 'us'. 'We' were a civilised, free, moral, industrious and peaceful race, typified by kindness, frankness, progressive virtues and governing skills. The thesis of a "typical Englishman" was also expressed overtly and was expanded by a finite set of positive prejudices such as a sense of justice and duty, energy and cheerfulness, athletic and military prowess, calmness in the face of danger, bravery, patience and honour[77].

Frequently, imperial growth was explained in terms of this particular habitus. As Yeandle puts it, "[t]he successful accumulation and maintenance of a **British** Empire was explained to these children as based on the historically evolved qualities of the **English** national character"[78]. In textbooks, this was conveyed via a causal locus of character: because 'we', the English, have certain traits and characteristics, 'we' had managed to create the British Empire. This means that school histories put forward the propositions that expansion was an English achievement, and that the origins of expansion were to be found in the advent of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain.

Side by side with the articulation of a unique *habitus*, there was a tendency to stress its superiority over others. An extract reads: "[o]ur race possesses the colonial spirit which French, Spaniards and Germans do not possess: the daring that takes men into distant lands, the doggedness that keeps them steadfast in want and difficulties, the masterful spirit that gives them power of Eastern and African races, the sense of justice that abuses them from abusing this power"[79]. The underlying assumption of this citation, and of history in general, is a hierarchical view of the world, in which 'we' occupy the pre-eminent place among Europeans, and Eastern and African races follow in various degrees of inferiority. In the textbooks, the Empire was also a source of national superiority over not only modern but also ancient peoples. This was expressed by the superlative in the depiction of Britain's

overseas possessions as constituting "the vastest and most beneficent empire yet known to history" and "the greatest, most powerful and most respected on the face of the globe"[80]. "In every case", as MacKenzie comments upon texts of the imperial age, "the message was a highly simplified one, of racial and cultural superiority"[81].

The socio-economic and cultural strand: images of medieval rural England

Motifs related to society, economy and culture entered school histories when the manners, customs and everyday life of ordinary people were thought worthy of academic enquiry. Ahier shows that history books tended to devote a great deal of space in talking about the common people, especially during medieval rural England, and to address their state of being in an idealised way[82]. The locus of rural England as an idyllic place can be deduced from the following extract:

> Village life was a happy life when Charles I became King, for folks were friendly with each other. On summer evenings the women sat spinning at the cottage doors and the men sat on the land benches outside the alehouse and talked about the crops[83].

Life in the countryside was portrayed as an original life of cheerful, shared family labour, as a cosy, unified domesticity with simple pleasures, and as something essentially English, as the true home of English people. Hence, the 'real' England was the country, a land of clean and peaceful villages surrounded by woods and hills, and the English were "a nation of farmers and herdsmen delighting in a simple out-of-door life"[84].

Implicit in this extract is also a focus on intra-national difference in terms of gender and of class as this phrase reveals: "while the houses of the rich were gradually becoming more civilised, the poor peasant farmer still went on living in his dirty, uncomfortable home"[85]. However, this strategy was not the norm in school stories. As Ahier puts it, "the idealizing of previous rural experiences quite unnecessarily homogenizes for children the people and their existences in a protective, cautious and often sentimental retrospect"[86].

The construction of national unity: English or British?

Often, the strategy of intra-national sameness was manifested in the deictic 'we', including all its dialectal forms and the corresponding possessive pronouns, and served both to construct a united English nation and to position both readers and writers as amongst its members. Other linguistic means constituting unity and inviting the child to identify with the nation were the group labels 'the English' and 'Englishmen', and the adjective 'English'. Having the tendency to co-occur with this epithet, the collective nouns 'race', 'nation' and 'people' were also unifying devices. Moreover, national similarity was promoted by the terms 'England' and 'country' used as metonymies of land for the group of the English, and by synecdoches in 'a part for whole' form, connoting the whole group, as in the phrase "the Saxon Englishman was a savage"[87]. Consider the following extract which contains many of these means and constructs an exclusive English readership:

> We have now read the story of the English people during their life in England. We have seen them land on our shores, a race of rude, savage warriors. We have seen them grow in strength and in knowledge until they have become a leading nation of the world. And let us remember that we, too, are English. In our hands lies the future of our great race. Let us resolve to do all we can to uphold the fame of our country, so that fresh honours may yet be added to the story of the English people[88].

This excerpt articulates, firstly, the existence of an English race united by a variety of both ethnic and civic elements – a successful story of national progress, a common descent, a common land, a common character typified by a spirit of improvement and a collective duty to perpetuate the nation's greatness. Second, it constructs a common national past that is characterised by the unbroken existence of the English in their national territory and their metamorphosis from a race of warriors into a leading nation of the world. Third, it projects a shared national future which is conditioned on the readers' and writers' willingness to sustain the nation and expand its greatness. In other words, this passage promotes a tripartite constitution of national time (past, present and future), highlighting that the aim of history was "not only to explain how the English of the past evolved into the English of the present, but also to demonstrate that the English national story would extend into perpetuity"[89].

Though the above discussion implies that it was Englishness which was the focus of attention in school histories, a closer look at the literature reveals that this was not the case in every context of historical representation. For instance, when stories spoke of monarchy and the state after 1603 and 1707 respectively, there was a tendency to stress sameness between the English, Scots and Irish (the Welsh were often excluded) alongside difference. This is illustrated with the following extract which refers to a British readership and indicates that the intended audience influences identity formation:

> At the foot of the king, you will see the rose, the thistle and the shamrock. Which of these three do you like best? If you are an English boy or girl you will like the rose best, because the sweet rose is the flower of England. If you are a Scotch boy or girl, you will like the thistle best, for the thistle is the flower of Scotland. But if you are a little Irish boy or girl, you will know that the sweet little shamrock is loved best in your country. Let us say, the rose for England, the thistle for Scotland, the shamrock for Ireland, and the Union Jack and 'God save the King' for us all[90].

Two strategies prevail in this excerpt. The first is the differentiation of the English from the non-English British. Apart from the country names and the corresponding anthroponymic epithets, this is evident in equating symbolically each group with a different flower and with emotional attachment to it. Other sources of dissimilarity in stories were descent, way of life, social organisation and character[91]. The second is the unification of all three groups into a single British nation. This is noticeable in: the last occurrence of pronoun 'us', the unifying device 'all', the usage of the British flag and anthem, and the fact that all three flowers are placed 'at the foot of the king', connoting the subordination of ethnicities to an all-encompassing British identity symbolised by monarchy. Apart from monarchy, national unity was based on the state, the shared cause of imperialism, common wars, and a common habitus marked by bravery, fearlessness, and a commitment to justice and fair dealing[92].

In other narrative settings such as that of imperialism, the British were seen as a much broader and more inclusive community. In the statement that follows, Britishness is defined implicitly as a diasporic identity, embracing also the white dominions on the basis of an evoked common language, origins, and political and cultural institutions. "Every year they are more and more becoming real 'Britains' over the seas"[93]. The following extract further extends the defining frontiers of this nationality to non-white colonial peoples and

the foundations of this assimilation are projected to be monarchy and patriotism: "[s]ome of them are black, some are brown, some white". "But all of them are subjects of the same king as we are, and if any danger threatened England, all of them would come to help her" a textbook emphasised[94].

To sum up, textbooks constructed an identity oscillating between Englishness and Britishness, as well as between various versions of British identity. The ambivalence that describes the construction of identification in histories was manifested for example in the habitual use of the terms 'England' and 'Britain' as synonyms, or, in the inconsistent usage of the deictic 'we' – 'we' as England, 'we' as Britain, 'we' as Britain and Ireland, 'we' as Britain and the white dominions, and 'we' as the entire British Empire.

The socio-economic and cultural strand: images of modern industrial Britain

In history texts of the period 1880-1960, the theme of social and economic change in modern Britain also occupied a prominent place in the construction of a common past[95]. To articulate this topic, authors deployed a transformation strategy aimed at conveying the metamorphosis of people from a nation of herdsmen, farmers and craftsmen to a nation of industrialists, factory workers and scientists. This strategy is encapsulated in the following excerpt, in which it is manifested as the locus of difference:

> While the war with Napoleon was being fought many changes were taking place in Britain itself. When the war started Britain was largely an agricultural country. When it finished it was the greatest manufacturing country in the world. This amazing change took place because of the inventions of a few, clever men[96].

Moreover, this passage illustrates that change was strategically constituted in a way which tended to show up British industrial superiority – Britain as 'the greatest manufacturing country in the world', or, from elsewhere, as "the Workshop of the World" and "a world-renowned country with unsurpassed monuments of industry", and Britons as "the foremost industrial people on the face of the globe"[97].

Further linguistic evidence in this text – the adjective 'amazing' – indicates that this change was frequently ascribed positive connotations. Indeed, many scholars show that

textbooks projected an image of the Victorian period as a golden age, an epoch of material comfort, of affluence and improvements, of wonderful inventions which make life so much easier, of progress for all[98]. The locus of Britain as a wonderful place was also utilised as a homogenisation strategy as this amazing change was beneficial to all.

At the same time, textbooks, notably those written in the post-war period, also tended to promote intra-national difference through the locus of change as beneficial only to some, and to reconstitute modern times in negative terms by means of the locus of Britain as a terrible place[99]. For instance, the Industrial Revolution was presented as a dark age, involving the suffering and exploitation of poor children and women in factories and mines. Equally, urbanisation was depicted as destroying family and rural life, and as producing cities with squalid housing, problems of sanitation and pollution by smoke.

The above-cited excerpt also assigns the agency of change to 'a few, clever men'. For Ahier, the attribution of industrial growth to invention is part of a broader motif which he calls "the adulation of the inventors"[100]. This motif projects an image of the nation as a community of industrial genius, intelligent inventors, hardworking scientists and innovative engineers. Though traces of this theme in texts can be found as early as the late nineteenth century, it became more eminent after the 1950s when socio-economic history has become the dominant style in historiography. Gilbert suggests that its manifestation in textbooks implies a shift in the making of national heroes. "The inventors and industrialists, the humanitarians and union leaders are becoming the great men (if more modestly so) of the age", albeit some of the old norms remains – the emphasis on great political figures[101].

So far, the analysis has identified a pattern of discontinuity in education and history in England passing from an educational model for imperial and national identification and superiority to a multicultural and anti-racist form of education, and from traditional to new history. In contrast, the context of reception in Cyprus was characterised by continuity in the aims and foci of schooling in general and history teaching in particular. An exploration of this pattern is the concern of the following sections of this chapter.

5.3.1 An education for national belongingness and cultural preservation

From at least the late nineteenth century and until 1974, a Greek-centred education had colonised Greek Cypriot schooling[102]. The aim of this model of education was to preserve Greek identity on the island and to create dutiful and patriotic Greek citizens, committed to Greece, the Orthodox Church and the sacred cause of *enosis*. Therefore, this pattern of education was an effect of and gained its legitimacy from Greek non-educational discourses of identity (see Chapter Three). In turn, schools served to reproduce and circulate them in society.

In the literature, the Greek education model is seen first, as an unofficial policy of the Church; then, as a policy of opposition to British efforts to bring schools under state control; and finally, as an official policy of the Greek Cypriot educational authorities[103].

In particular, from the advent of British rule and until about the 1920s, and mainly due to the non-interventionist approach of the colonial state in education, the Church was able to use the school as a site for making Greek nationals. It was believed that this kind of subjectivity "would support Cyprus' claim for political union (Enosis) with Greece"[104]. Thus, curricula were modelled to those of Greece and textbooks were imported from Greece, enabling the Greek government to indirectly control education in Cyprus. Hence, "Athens determined, for the most part, what the Greek Cypriot should study"[105].

With the increase of local mobilisation for *enosis* and the British determination to extend modernisation and secularisation to education, the non-interference approach of the state was to change after the 1920s. The authorities gradually took full control over elementary education syllabus with the introduction of a new curriculum (1935) and sought to extend control over secondary education curriculum without any success. Loyalty to Greece in following the classical tradition had prevented the majority of gymnasia on the island from adapting the state-created curriculum. The battle for control of schooling brought "the ideology of the Orthodox ethnarchic church against the British government, and the Cypriot hellenists (irrespective of party difference) against the colonialists"[106].

After independence, the Greek form of education continued to dominate the Greek Cypriot schooling. One indication of this tendency was the decision of the Greek Communal Chamber for "the full identification of Cypriot education with that in Greece"[107]. Kazamias points out that this was made possible because the newly-founded state was based on the recognition of the existence of two different communities, the Greek and the Turkish, with different languages religions, origins and traditions[108]. In fact, because independence was viewed as a false situation, education "had to avoid any action that contributed to the formation of Cypriot identity", as the director of the Chamber stressed[109].

5.3.2 The traditional history and the genre of traditional history textbook

One fundamental aspect of this educational form was the teaching of the history of Greece. "Greek education", in the words of the Locum Tenens of the Archbishopric, "consists in its teaching not only of the Greek language, but also of Greek history, the history of the *ethnos*"[110]. The teaching of Greek history was institutionalised after the national curriculum of Greece was introduced into the Greek Cypriot community at the end of nineteenth century and this meant the marginalisation of Cypriot history. "Pupils were taught very little about the history of Cyprus but they devoted a lot of time to learning the long history of Greece" [111].

The justification for the endorsement of Greek history was based on the belief that the Greek population on the island was an inseparable part of the Greek nation, and on the acceptance of its utility in moral training. This can be seen in the following excerpt, also taken from the Locum Tenens:

> Greek History is highly appreciated for its useful lessons and for its educational character, and is taught in the schools of Great Britain and other civilised nations – though these nations are not descendants of the people who created that history. So it is natural that Greek History should have an important place in the curriculum of the elementary schools of Cyprus whose inhabitants are privileged to be direct descendants of the ancient Greeks[112].

In another memorandum to the Governor of Cyprus following the abolition of the teaching of Greek history from primary education by the colonial authorities, the Locum Tenens also

implied its key role in preserving Greek identity: "[t]he purpose behind this change was the destructive influence upon the national conscience of the Greek Cypriot children"[113]. He further declared that the study of Greek history was also valuable to the general growth of the child, for "the Greek education means human development. The classical Greek education makes wellrounded human beings spiritually and morally, especially when they penetrate into the study of the ancient Greek world by studying Greek history"[114]. Hence, the usage of Greek history for identity preservation was not just a natural right but also meant "the realisation of an unquestionable good, the realisation of one's full humanity"[115].

The importance of Greek history in the maintenance of Greek identity was based on the view that it helps to transmit a certain body of knowledge which was often perceived as a primordial inheritance, and by means of this heritage, to maintain ethnic awareness. As Bryant argues, schools in modern Cyprus were "sites of very specific kinds of socialisation. One did not *acquire* (skills, knowledge, etc.), one *became* (a type of person capable of doing X). Through schooling, one became a master of certain bodies of knowledge and a particular type of person. That type of person, I wish to claim, was the master of a body of knowledge that had come to represent the traditions of the community"[116]. Formulated differently, Greek history aimed at contributing to the production of a specific *habitus*. Its image is best portrayed by Persianis. "The Greek educational ideal of the time was that of the Greek Christian, the person who possessed the worldly virtues of a Greek and at the same time the spiritual attributes of a Christian. This type of person was a zealous patriot, proud of being Greek, and at the same time idealistic, moral and pious"[117].

The idea of handing on historical facts for civic ends gained its legitimacy from the 'grand narrative' conception of the nature of history. It was said earlier that this philosophy sees history as factual knowledge telling the reader what had happened in the past, and the historian as a disinterested arbitrator of historical truth who can offer a definitive account of the past. As Bryant further comments on modern education on the island, the training of the youth along Greek national lines was not only "the privileged locus of consensus" but also "the site in which that consensus is defined as truth"[118]. In other words, the Greek community of Cyprus sought to train their children to know what was true – that they and

their descent, land, language, traditions, values and religion were Greek since time immemorial, and that they should be incorporated into the Greek state.

The diffusion and acquisition of a selected body of historical information was also compatible with and given further value by traditional pedagogy, in which, as was also said earlier, the student and the teacher were subordinated to knowledge. Weir points out that pedagogic practices in modern Cyprus education focused not on the systematic cultivation of the child's mind but on memorisation and recitation of content[119]. Modern schooling on the island, in other words, "must be seen as something much more akin to apprenticeship, in which the pupil becomes the master of a body of knowledge..."[120].

At the level of secondary education, Greek history was taught in Cyprus throughout the first three quarters of the twentieth century from a single book for each grade common to all pupils, written for a (mainland) Greek audience by Greek authors, printed in Greece and approved by the Greek state[121]. The constitution of 'the traditional history textbook genre' was shaped in part by the Greek model of education and history, the grand narrative philosophy of history and traditional pedagogy, which also prevailed in Greece[122]. Hence:

- school history was presented as a fixed recording of past events – the one and only historical truth – and as a narrative of events chronologically ordered, segmented into historical periods and organised on the basis of cause-and-effect links;
- the writer saw himself or herself both as a neutral recorder of an undisputable past and as a carrier of a knowledge which merely reflected historical reality;
- the reader was addressed as a student and seen as a passive recipient and assimilator of factual information;
- the author's task was to give the child-reader the historical facts in a narrative form to explain how the past actually happened in a concise and simple manner.

In terms of content, the textbook genre drew upon academic historiography[123]. Like academic history, school history was preoccupied with the story of the Greeks, revolving around and evoking the idea of national continuity in time – from the golden age of ancient Greece through the glorious medieval empire of the Byzantium to the national revival of

modern Greece. Also, it was primarily concerned with political, military and ecclesiastical events and with the biographies of great statesmen, emperors, generals and churchmen, and, to a lesser extent, with the history of Hellenic culture.

At the level of elementary schooling, Greek history was also taught from only one textbook for each grade between 1960 and 1974. But unlike the ones in use in secondary classes, primary school-books were written for Greek Cypriot audience by Greek Cypriot authors, printed in Cyprus, and approved by the Greek Cypriot educational authorities[124]. The practice of producing and authorising textbooks locally was initiated in the mid-1930s by the colonial state in an attempt to combat *enosis*[125]. The local production of textbooks continued both during the last years of the colonial rule and after independence. The rationale for this continuity was that they "were considered, from a pedagogic perspective, to be better than the relevant Greek ones"[126].

The locally-produced elementary school textbooks of the period 1960-1974 shared the same generic features with the secondary school textbooks imported from Greece. "Their main aspect is that they follow, broadly speaking, the mode, the structure and the language of the Greek school textbooks of the 1950s"[127]. But they had an important difference in relation to the Greek ones. They introduced some chapters of Cypriot history "which, at best, they occupy one fifth of the content"[128]. This dissimilarity further illustrates that the content of a textbook is partly dependent on its intended audience.

Moreover, the history of Cyprus was the main preoccupation of another textbook written by a Greek Cypriot educator and printed on the island, which was "apparently for use in the lower secondary classes"[129]. This uncertainty regarding its use emanates from the fact that there was no state regulation in independent Cyprus requiring schools to teach the history of the island as a separate subject[130].

It is also possible to deduce from the work of Hodge and Lewis that Cypriot history in both primary and secondary education was often presented as part of the Greek national history[131]. This tendency exemplifies the most important feature of identity construction in locally-produced school stories of this period: an attempt to discursively place Cyprus and

its people within the symbolic boundaries of Hellenism. This argument is further explored in the remaining of this chapter.

5.3.3 The construction of national identity in history textbooks

This section seeks to deduce from the available literature the most important topics and the main strategies and forms of linguistic realisation of national identity in school histories of the period 1960-74. Since literature is very limited, the above-mention textbook for secondary classes was also analysed[132]. This was necessary for two reasons: to gain a more comprehensive picture of how identity was constituted in this period, and by means of this enhanced understanding, to reach saver conclusions later in the thesis regarding the impact of the new political and intellectual identity discourses on the articulation of this concept in post-1974 history textbooks.

Similar to English school historiography, the making of a collective past colonises school historical writing in Cyprus. This is due to the history textbook genre that is mainly concerned with this category. The other content-related categories of identity discourse – space, culture, habitus, and present and future – are embedded in the representation of the past. However, they do not occur often, most likely because of the specific genre.

It is argued here that it is possible to identify two constructs of identity in history textbooks – a Greek and a Cypriot construct. The Greek position tends to be overtly articulated, while the Cypriot one is rather implied. The Greek configuration is projected by two historical narrative strands, each with similar aims, actors, setting and plot – the Hellenising strand and the strand of Christianity. In contrast, the Cypriot formation does not take the form of a well-constructed narrative but it is constituted only in specific settings of historical representation. The blending of Greekness and Cypriotness is a central source of ambivalence and hybridity in the construction of national identity in school history.

The narrative of Greekness

In this narrative, the intent of school historians was to explain the formation and persistence of Greekness in Cyprus, to narrate how, despite the de-hellenising efforts of various 'others' who made their way through the island or conquered it, the 'self' managed

to maintain their Greek character, culture and identity which was formed in prehistoric times with the advent of the Mycenaeans. In a textbook writer's words, the aim was to tell "the miracle of the spiritual endurance of the Greek people of Cyprus", "the history of a people, which, having got disconnected from the national trunk, and as a free state, will preserve their Greekness"[133].

The analysis of the textbook for secondary classes reveals that the meanings given to the concept of 'Greekness' are classified in three semantic categories. The first refers to "the Greek character of Cyprus" defined by the Greek language, traditions and customs of the people. The second is related to their "Greek national consciousness", "Greek national feeling" or "Greek national morale". These specific vocabulary choices generate and evoke inferences of Greek identity as an inner and innate entity. The third category is associated with the belief in the Hellenic descent of the population.

This narrative begins with "the hellenisation of Cyprus". This topic is articulated by various strategies. The strategies of transformation and homogenisation are combined with the aim of conveying the message that the local Cypriot culture was substituted entirely by the Greek one during prehistory. "The Greeks moved from these colonies to the interior of the island whose character became completely Greek from the IB century B.C."[134]. The reading of the island's culture as purely Hellenic tended to be reinforced by the strategy of avoidance employed to exclude from the account of this period the cultural heterogeneity of Cyprus, for instance, the eteo-Cypriot nature of Amathous or the Phoenician character of Kition[135]. The positive presentation of the Greeks and their advent and civilisation, expressed both verbally and visually, was another strategy that served to depict hellenisation as a positive event[136].

But the people, according to the plot, were under the threat of de-hellenisation. Often, this motif occurred in the representation of periods of heteronomy or subjugation to 'others'. These times were constituted linguistically by the formula of *name of a foreign people + the ending –kratia*, connoting the captivity of the 'self' by an 'other'[137]. In *Anglokratia*, for instance, the "anti-educational measures" of the British aimed at "the de-hellenisation of the island"[138]. Likewise, the Phoenician kings of Salamis "persecuted

anything Greek" and banned "the entrance of the Greeks in the city" during *Persokratia*[139]. Underpinning all these examples is the assumption of the superiority of the Greek national culture in relation to other civilisations.

However, the de-hellenising efforts of 'others' "did not manage to alter the national feeling of the inhabitants"[140]. Here, negation highlights the use of a continuity strategy designed to promote the persistence of Greekness on the island. Its preservation was often held to be the result of the actions of the true members of the communion, such as King Evagoras, Queen Heleni Palaioloyina and Archbishop Cyprianos. For example, a textbook wrote that "it was only thanks to Evagoras that Cyprus managed to regain its Greek character"[141]. Although these figures were Cypriot-specific, their noble virtues – love for Greece and liberty including a readiness to sacrifice one's self for the national good, pride in being a member of the Greek nation, audacity, idealism and morality – were depicted to be those of the Greek race.

The message that 'we' managed to maintain 'our' Greekness despite 'their' de-hellenising efforts is also evident in the following extract. At the same time, this example indicates that Greek discourse often entered dialogues with other discourses arguing for the de-hellenisation of Cyprus with the purpose of dismantling alternative ways of thinking about the idea of Greekness. In other words, this extract calls attention to one of the main features of identity construction in textbooks: elements from Greek identity constituted in Greece and elements from Greek identity promoted in Cyprus were articulated together.

> Some claim that Cyprus, during the long period of [Arabic] raids lost its Greek character and got disconnected from the Byzantine Empire. This is totally wrong and it is proved with much evidence that neither Cyprus lost its Greek character nor did the Byzantium stop considering Cyprus as part of the Greek Byzantine Empire[142].

The main generic features of the traditional history textbook can be also deduced from this passage. First, the contested nature of history is reduced to 'wrong' and 'right' readings of the past. Second, the author textures himself as the bearer of truth about the past and his aim is to transmit it to the reader who is assigned the attribute of passivity. There is a third aspect and this is associated with the issue of how the reader is summoned by and how the author is related to the discourse on the national 'self'. This aspect can be inferred from the adverb 'totally' which triggers an effort to intensify the persuasive impact on readership of

the propositions that Cyprus did not lose its Greek character and the Byzantines did not stop considering the island as part of their Empire. At the same time, this adverb indicates the writer's involvement in the naturalisation and perpetuation of nationalist discourse.

The persistence of a Greek people on the island was employed as a locus for the justification of *enosis*: since 'we' have preserved 'our' Greek character and consciousness, 'we' should be united with Greece. Thus, the EOKA struggle, according to a textbook, "did not aim only at the abolition of the colonial regime but also at the Union of Cyprus with Greece"[143]. Moreover, it was construed as a freedom struggle "confirming the drama of the Greek race, a drama of sacrifices for the ideal of liberty"[144]. In fact, the analysis of the secondary school textbook suggests that all fights of the 'self' against 'others' tended to be located within this interpretative framework.

In a textbook of 1971, Koullapis identifies a shift in the representation of *enosis*, from political to cultural union. He interprets this change as a reflection of the policy of 'enosis in the unspecified future', formulated in the late 1960s by President Makarios[145]. In contrast, the following excerpt from the early 1960s version of the same textbook reflects the persistence of the desire for political union with Greece of this period, and the view that independence was an intermediate stage towards the realisation of *enosis*. In other words, it is indicative of the colonisation of history by nationalist motifs from political discourses.

> ...despite the fact that the specified solution did not reflect the realisation of the desires and the dreams of the Cypriot people as these were reflected in the hearts of generations and generations, it remains an unquestionable gain that the rulers were driven off and we are already breathing as free people and as masters of our land in a Democracy which gives us the right of orientation to that country which is for us the maternal Nation[146].

This extract also highlights a unification strategy intended to project the Cypriots "as an imagined subset of the Greek nation"[147]. This strategy is expressed by the metaphors of Greece as 'the maternal Nation'; or from elsewhere, as 'our' "mother" and "motherland", and of the Greeks as 'our' "brothers". "It is no wonder that in Greek Cypriot textbooks of the period", Bryant suggests, "one hardly ever finds references to Greece that are not couched in familial terms. This did not only include the rather distant term 'motherland', but more importantly the image of a Mother Greece, living and breathing through the soil

of Greek land, waiting to embrace her lost child as she had so many other lost island children"[148].

The emphasis on the assimilation of the Cypriot people into Hellenism was also manifested in the great deal of space that textbooks devoted in representing events and figures from the past that illustrate "the close bonds of Cyprus with Greece" – for example, the visit of the Athenian legislator Solon on the island, the campaign of the Athenian general Cimon for the liberation of Cyprus from the Persians, the caring policies of the Byzantine Emperors for the wellbeing of Cypriots, the sacrifice of Archbishop Cyprianos as a contribution to the Greek War of Independence[149].

Linguistically, the projection of the island's people as part of Hellenism was often expressed, first, by the deictic 'we' including all its dialectal forms and the corresponding possessive pronouns, and second, by he group-constructive label "Greeks" that tended to be used to designate the population and as a synonym with the term "Cypriots"[150]. Yet, the way in which the two devices were used draws attention to the ambivalence characterising identity construction in school histories: elements from a Greek identity and from a Cypriot identity were intermingled. The result is the making of a national identity that oscillates between Cyprus and Greece. This is illustrated with two examples:

- The term 'Greeks'. In some cases, it denoted only the inhabitants of Greece – "[n]o people of those in the war endured such hardships as the Greeks did in those four dark and terrible years"[151] (referring to the German occupation of Greece during the Second World War). In other cases, this term positioned the people of the island within the Greek nation – "[h]undreds of Cypriots", as a text wrote, fought in the Balkan wars "along with the other Greeks, thus showing their love for their country"[152].
- The pronouns 'we' and 'our'. In some instances, as in the following statement, they only referred to the inhabitants of the island – 'we are already breathing as free people and as masters of our land'. In other occasions, as in the description of Diakos' killing by the Ottomans as a sacrifice to "our country, Greece"[153], the 'our' constructs the membership of the people of Cyprus to Hellenism.

In these extracts, the elements that set apart the Cypriots from the Greeks are different historical experiences, territory and state, and the elements that unite them are common fights, a love for Greece and the image of a mother Greek nation. There is, however, a fundamental difference in the way each of these two strategies were articulated: while the strategy of differentiation tended to be implied, the strategy of unification was frequently expressed in an overt manner.

Perhaps the making of an ambivalent identity is more discernible in the accounts of the state of literature and art on the island during the ancient and medieval times. In the Byzantine period, the representation of this topic contains a strategy of explicitly constructing the Cypriot people as a sub-national unit of Hellenism[154]. To mention one example, this strategy is manifested in the following excerpt: "[n]aturally, the Cypriots, during the long run of the Byzantine period, were concerned, as the other Greeks, with the writing of books referring to ecclesiastical matters". In contrast, a strategy of implicitly distinguishing 'the Cypriots' from 'the Greeks' was embedded in the narration of antiquity[155]. An extract reads: "[t]his absence is natural because the Cypriots – like the Greeks – did not build temples as a rule".

The way in which the deictic 'we' and the terms 'Cypriots' and 'the Cypriot people' are employed indicates another main feature of identity discourse in school histories – the exclusion of "the Turks of Cyprus", who, by means of this designation, were placed within the symbolic boundaries of the Turkish nation. At the same time, the Turks were attributed a cluster of negative attributes such as cruelty, greed, dishonesty, irregularity and *rahati*. Often, this was achieved by the combination of a pejoration strategy and a strategy of assimilation, expressed, for instance, by the generalising synecdoches 'the Turks' and 'Turkey', according to which the Turkish authorities of Cyprus were depicted to stand for the whole group. Consider two *clichés* with such biased content[156]:

- As time passed, however, the Turks changed a lot. The cause of this change was their greed and their rahati. Rahati meant life without work and without worries, without problems or concerns. It is not possible for people to survive like that, unless they do injustices and live at the expense of others. This is what the Turks of Cyprus did.
- The Turks oppressed the people by exacting very large sums, practising violence and tortures.

There are four points to note here. The first is that the slurs against the Turkish 'other' implied a cluster of positive prejudices towards the Greek 'self', including honesty, kindness, generosity, and diligence. The second is that the represented negative predicates frequently took the form of declarative clauses that claim to express a truth, insinuating that these are inherent Turkish traits. Third, the authors tended to intensify the illocutionary force of stereotypic utterances. This is apparent in the last example where the phrase 'practising violence and tortures' can be seen as a marker of intensification in the sense that it conveys the same message as the verb 'oppressed'. It also expresses the writer's involvement in the represented nationalist discourse and serves to emotionally and cognitively engage the reader in it.

This disparagement strategy was drawn upon from the mainland Greek-articulated identity discourse. The incorporation of meanings from this discourse into the Cypriot-constituted construct of identity is, as mentioned earlier, a major aspect of the making of identity in locally-produced textbooks. Apart from this strategy and the image of the Turks as barbarians that it conveys, other traces of this discourse in Cyprus school histories are the depiction of the Ottoman rule of the island as "the dark years of Turkish servitude"; the politics of national redemption manifested in a folk-song looking forward to the freeing of the Greeks and their regaining of Constantinople; the myth of the "Secret School", according to which Greek children went secretly to church at night to be taught letters by the priest because schooling was forbidden by the Turks; and, the focus on the preparations and outbreak of "Insurrection"[157]. The majority of these meanings was drawn on from the practices of Greek historical writing. As Koullapis puts it, "Greek Cypriot writers of history (text)books adopt as a rule the vocabulary and the manichaistic perceptions of the Greek nationalistic historiography"[158].

The projection of a Cypriot identity

The emphasis on difference between 'us', the Cypriots, and 'them', the Greeks, contradicts the idea of Cypriot belongingness to the Greek national community – and, as suggested in Chapter Three, is a central pillar of a distinctive Cypriot identity. To deduce

and conjure up this identity, school histories drew upon at least four concepts: culture, *habitus*, territory and historical trajectory.

A Cypriot identity was firstly grounded on the idea of a unique Cypriot culture[159]. This was evident in the account of the state of art and literature in antiquity – for instance, in references to "the Cypriot style", "the local art", "the Cypriot architecture" and "the Cypriot pottery". Side by side with this constructive strategy, there was a heteronomisation strategy designed both to depict this culture as a hybrid entity, the product of cultural synthesis, and to specify its cultural constituents. It was expressed, for example, by the repeated utilisation of the word "influences" in sub-section titles which co-occurred with such epithets as "Greek", "Egyptian", "Assyrian", "Roman" and "Eastern".

The notion of a Cypriot identity was also promoted by a typical Cypriot habitus, which tended to be implied rather than expressed overtly. It was embedded in the making of a Cypriot culture and notably in the positive predications employed to qualify its various art materials – "splendid", "fine", "famous", "renowned", and so forth. These predicates projected an image of the Cypriots as a people with great artistic skills. In a few occasions, this image and the strategy of positive 'self'-presentation which accompanied its evocation were explicitly manifested: "[f]inally, we must note that the Cypriots excelled in all types of art, which they cultivated with zeal and diligence"[160].

The third key tenet of Cypriotness was the articulation of the island's location as an agent of shaping a Cypriot distinctive culture and history. This locus of consequence is exemplified with just two excerpts:

- Cyprus, because of this location on the one hand and thanks to a very active commercial life on the other, was more active among the countries of the East and had a lot of eastern influences…
- …Cyprus, the location of which played an important role in the development of its historical trajectory… That is, Cyprus combined location and richness in such a way that it often became a centre, that the most powerful and merchant people of the times sought to conquer and colonise[161].

Two extra axioms of Cypriot identity discourse can be extracted from these passages. The first refers to the representation of the Cyprus territory as a main commercial centre of the

ancient East, as a centre of attraction of the great powers of the times, and as a rich land located at a strategic position in the Mediterranean. The second is the projection of a collective Cypriot past marked by a series of conquests and colonisations of the island by powerful peoples.

A final central element of Cypriot identity was the exclusion of the Turks of Cyprus from the collectivity called 'the Cypriot people' or 'the Cypriots'. An example is the account of a series of socio-economic uprisings during the Ottoman rule, which were represented as "uprisings of Cypriots and Turks"[162].

The strand of Christianity

Similar to the narrative of Greekness, the plot of this narrative revolves around the idea of the persistence of an Orthodox Christian people in Cyprus. Five key topics are embedded in this specific mode of understanding the common past and are discussed in what follows: the Christianisation of the island, the golden age of the Byzantine Empire, heteronomy as a threat to faith, the endurance of Christianity, and the Church as the guardian of the people, nationality and religion.

The origins of Christianity were identified as being in the Roman period[163]. This event was presented as a positive development and was designated as "the Christianisation of the island" or "Cyprus". The toponyms 'island' and 'Cyprus' were used in such phrases as both metonymies and generalising synecdoches – land standing for all its inhabitants – serving to promote the message that all peoples converted to this religion. Koullapis suggests that this reading position was also constructed by a strategy of avoidance. The aim of this strategy was to conceal the gradual character of and resistance to religious change, and instead to bring to the fore that the population adopted Christianity fully, peacefully and at once[164].

The Christian faith of the 'self' was depicted to be in danger, notably in periods of subjugation to 'others'. For instance, the presentation of the Ottoman rule entailed the locus of a threat for conversion to Islam. "There", as a text of 1964 commented on the allegedly

enforced recruitment of Greek boys in the army, "they learnt to forget their country, their villages, their homes, their parents, their faith"[165]. A second example is the account of the Frankish rule that contained the locus of a threat for conversion to Catholicism. Alongside this *topos*, the following excerpt illustrates that historical interpretation was claimed as truth. It also constitutes particular pedagogic subjects and enacts specific relationships between them – an impartial servant of factual knowledge, the writer, and a passive assimilator of facts, the reader-child:

> There was no end in the pressures that the Latin Church used in order to subjugate the Orthodox Church. The martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Cantara speaks for itself. Seizure of church land, reduction of the Bishops, decisions and aphorisms by the Pope did not manage to weaken the morale and the feeling of the people, who were determined to endure everything in order to defend the religion of their fathers[166].

Several important features of national identity can be extracted from this passage. The first is the thesis of the superiority of Orthodoxy within Christianity. This is embedded in the locus of threat for faith conversion. Second, the logic of danger for faith conversion is based on the presupposition and constitution of religious difference between 'us' and 'them'. Here, this is manifested for example, in the adjectives 'Orthodox' and 'Latin'. Third, resistance to religious assimilation and struggle for the maintenance of faith were also central themes of understanding the past. The fourth element is the preservation of Christianity and this was articulated and conveyed by means of a strategy of emphasising continuity. In this excerpt, this element is realised by negation. Finally, there is the implicit projection of the 'self' as a *habitus* characterised by allegiance to, and readiness to sacrifice life for, faith. As a textbook put it, "the stubborn focus on the faith of fathers is a dogma for the Greeks"[167].

Implicit in this extract is also a tendency to link the danger for Catholic assimilation to the subjugation of the Orthodox Church to the Latin Church. What lies behind this relationship is the image of church as the guardian of faith. This institution was also depicted as protector of the people and their nationality, evoking and reproducing meanings that were formulated in Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century. This is evident, for example, in the portrayal of the Patriarch in the narration of the Ottoman rule as "the

defender of Greeks"[168]; or in the view that church leaders used their privileges during the same period "for the support and relief of their flock"[169].

Many of the topics, strategies and forms of linguistic realisation of identity in school histories were similar to the identity that was articulated in Greece. Perhaps the most explicit example of the inter-discursive construction of identity in textbooks is the account of the Byzantine period. Like academic and school historical narratives in Greece, history textbooks in Cyprus put forward the views that the Byzantium was a Greek Empire and that the Byzantium was a cultural golden age of Hellenism[170]. However, the school discourse of Greek identity on the island also acquired some Cypriot-specific meanings. For example, and as has been shown earlier, one of the main concerns of school historiography was to rule out that, due to heteronomy, Cyprus stopped being part of the Byzantine Empire and lost its Greek character.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has offered a view over time of educational forms, genres of school historiography and images of the national 'self' in history textbooks across the two settings prior to the production of new textbooks. It was argued that while a pattern of continuity characterises education and history in Cyprus, discontinuity is the main aspect of schooling and school historical writing and teaching in England – from an education for imperial and national superiority and identification to a multicultural and anti-racist education, and from traditional to new history. Despite this central difference, the two contexts of reception, notably the making of identity is school histories, were marked by a cluster of similar features regarding national identity construction in historical narratives – ambivalence, inconsistencies, fragmentation and hybridity.

This chapter has also argued that the definition of the context of reception in the two settings is an important activity, for it can identify pre-existing practices that could have affected, inflected and deflected the new political and intellectual discourses of identity. In England, the form of cultural pluralist and anti-racist education was a potential mechanism of inflection and deflection of the new political and intellectual discourse. It was shown in

Chapter Four that the defence of the nation against perceived threats, the preservation of the national 'self'-image and culture, and the exclusion of ethnic minorities were the central facets of nationalist discourse put forward by conservative politicians and intellectuals. In contrast, exponents of multicultural and anti-racist education advocated a need for change in identity, belittled the national *habitus* and argued for the incorporation of minorities into a new pluralist and anti-racist British *Staatsnation.*

The paradigm of new history could also have acted in such ways. It could have inflected and deflected a fixed and essentialist notion of identity underpinning the conservative ethnocentric discourses. On the contrary, this paradigm opened up the possibility for school history to break out of narrow nationalism, and to re-conceptualise national identity as fluid and non-essentialist. What is relevant here, in other words, is Kress's claim that "certain discourses tend to have preferred relations with certain genres, and some genres are incompatible with certain discourses"[171]. The relationship between the new history textbook genre and nationalist discourse will be interrogated in Chapter Seven.

Thus, these two aspects of the context of reception were important conditions of possibility for national identity construction in the new history textbooks. They were also significant conditions for educational policy formulation in the signifying practices of conservative politicians and intellectuals. That a national history curriculum emerged in part as a reaction to new history and to multicultural and anti-racist educational policies is an argument well-established in the literature[172].

Similarly, the model of Greek education in Cyprus and the entrenched image of the Greek 'self' in school histories were possible mechanisms of infection and deflection of neo-Cypriot nationalist discourse articulated by Centre-Left politicians and intellectuals. In Chapter Four, it was also shown that this specific discourse was mainly characterised by efforts to integrate Greek and Turkish Cypriots into a single Cypriot community and to set them apart from the inhabitants of Greece and Turkey, respectively. Both the Greek-based model of education with its stress on the making of Greek subjects at the expense of Cypriot citizenship, and the Greco-Christian identity of textbooks, notably its focus on the

assimilation of the island and its people into the community of Hellenism and the exclusion of the Turkish Cypriots, were in conflict to the new political and intellectual discourse.

As in England, these features of the Cypriot context of reception were amongst the conditions of possibility for the constitution of national identity in the newly-produced history textbooks. They were also important conditions for the reformulation of educational policy, from an exclusive Greek-centred policy to more independent or Cypriot-based one, and especially the decision to introduce in curricula the teaching of the history of Cyprus as a separate subject from Greek history[173].

Yet, the context of reception in the two settings also provided fertile ground for the transportation of the new political and intellectual discourses. In England, the historical trajectory of identity in histories has many nationalist meanings in common with conservative discourses which made possible their perpetuation or restoration in the newly-written textbooks. Likewise, the historical trajectory of an ill-defined and silenced Cypriotness in Cyprus history textbooks is a potential space for the new discourses about the collective 'self' constituted by politicians and intellectuals to penetrate and colonise.

A final issue emerging out of the analysis undertaken in this chapter is the types of relationships between identity in school histories and the dominant nationalist discourses of the broader society in which they were embedded. Their correlations are primarily of appropriateness. This type of links highlights both the colonisation of the domain of school history by wider discourses on nationhood and its function as a device of the reproduction and circulation of national 'self'-images constructed in other social fields.

Furthermore, there are relationships of opposition, complementarity and translation between identities promoted in the field of school history and in other social domains. For example, the English discourse of nationhood in textbooks stresses the idea that the origins of the English people are mixed, including Anglo-Saxon and Celtic elements, as well as the reading of the Celts as civilised peoples. In contrast, Chapter Three showed that dominant non-educational discourses about Englishness put forward the views that the English were of pure Anglo-Saxon origins and that the Celts were uncivilised. In Cyprus, to mention

another example, the positive representation of a typical Cypriot *habitus* and Cypriot arts in textbooks, although was not a main feature of non-educational discourses of Cypriotness, was in accordance with them.

Similar types of relationships between national identity in the field of school history and in the political and intellectual fields are also evident in the particular historical periods under examination in both settings. The analysis of discursive identity constructs in Greek Cypriot and English history textbooks produced and distributed during these time periods is the main purpose of the next two chapters of the thesis.

Endnotes

[1] Ball, S. (2001) What is policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes, in: Ball, S (ed.) *Sociology of Education: major themes* (London, Routledge), pp. 1830-1840.
[2] See: Green, A. (1997) *Education, globalisation and the nation state* (London, Macmillan), pp. 94-98; Mangan, J.A. (1993) Images for confident control: stereotypes in imperial discourse, in: Mangan, J.A. (ed.) *The imperial curriculum: racial images and education in the British colonial experience* (London, Routledge), p. 6; Tomlinson, S. (1990) *Multicultural education in white schools* (London, Batsford), pp. 71-84; Horn, P. (1988) English elementary education and the growth of the imperial ideal: 1880-1914, in: Mangan, J.A. (ed.) *'Benefits bestowed'? Education and British imperialism* (Manchester, Manchester University Press), pp. 39-55; MacKenzie, J.M. (1984) *Propaganda and Empire: the manipulation of British public opinion 1880-1960* (Manchester, Manchester University Press), pp. 174-197.
[3] Green, A., *op.cit.*, pp. 97-98; Tomlinson, S., *op.cit.*, pp. 74-77.
[4] MacKenzie, J.M., *op.cit.*, p. 254.
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CHAPTER SIX

Discursive constructs of national identity in Cyprus: the perspective of history textbooks

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how national identity is constructed discursively in the textbooks of Cypriot history in Cyprus that were written during the period 1974-93 (see Appendix I for the list). It was suggested earlier that constructs of identity can be identified and described with reference to discourse contents, concepts and strategies, and also according to how they are multimodally realised.

The argument put forward in this chapter is that it is possible to identify two different identities in the history textbooks. These constructs are embedded in and promoted either explicitly or implicitly by three historical narrative strands. A Cypriot identity implicitly projected by the narrative of heteronomy and autonomy and a Greek identity explicitly articulated by the strand of Hellenism and the strand of Christianity. The effect of the co-articulation of a Cypriot and a Greek position of identification in school histories is the projection of an overall identity that is ambivalent, hybrid, fractured and contradictory.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first is a brief sketch of the general aims of school history during the period under study. This is followed by an outline of the strand of heteronomy and autonomy which attempts to define the configuration of Cypriot identity. The third and fourth sections examine the Christianity and the Hellenizing strands, endeavouring to define Greek identity. The final section is the chapter conclusion.

6.2 The communicative purposes of history teaching and writing

In the period under study, school history in primary and secondary schooling, although it appears to stress such goals as the promotion of the skills and methods that define history as a discipline or the cultivation of peace, international understanding and

anti-racism, had a different purpose. According to history curricula, it was aimed at inculcating a sense of identity in pupils through the transmission of a particular body of knowledge about the national past and culture, of a certain sense of destiny in the present and future, of specific ways of reading the national geo-body, and of a finite set of opinions, emotions and attitudes about and towards the 'self' and the 'others'[1]. For example, history teaching and learning aimed to help students to:

- learn about the most important historical events of their homeland;
- develop the ability to appreciate the significance of the creations of the Cypriot History and the national heritage of their homeland as well as the eagerness to contribute to their safeguard and promotion;
- gain clear perception of their national identity and to cultivate the feeling of patriotism, the love for freedom and the respect for democratic life and democratic values;
- put the common and national interest above their own;
- learn about the Greek tradition and know about the problems of modern Hellenism;
- develop a sense of pride for their historical tradition and a sense of duty towards it.

The task of developing national awareness to pupils through history teaching was based on the 'grand narrative' view of the nature of history as a body of historical knowledge – the national heritage – and on traditional pedagogy in which handing on this inheritance is seen as the central feature of the teaching of history (see Chapter Five). However, the type of national identity which was to be cultivated through the subject of history was a matter of ambivalence. It is not possible to determine whether the term 'homeland' or the adjective 'national' refers to Cyprus or Greece.

6.3 The narrative strand of heteronomy and autonomy

This narrative is concerned with the political, the socio-economic, mental and cultural condition of the people of Cyprus. According to the plot, the past is divided into periods of heteronomy and autonomy. During times of subjugation, the past tends to be articulated as the socio-economic, mental, and cultural decay of the people. By contrast, in periods of autonomy, the past is frequently constructed as the socio-economic, mental, and

cultural progress of the community. The setting of this narrative is Cyprus and its major actors are the 'self' as the inhabitants of the island and a range of 'other' different peoples who made their way to Cyprus or conquered it at different historical moments.

The intent of textbooks authors

This narrative is firstly extracted from textbooks prefaces. Although these materials are 'outside' the narrative, they are an essential part of it because this is the place where an unproblematic sense of the in-group is constructed; the writers and the readers are addressed as members of this group; and, the thinking of the writers about the nature, destiny and past of the in-group is established. Consider an extract from the preface of textbook P3&4:

> They progressed with time with their intelligence, their hard work, and their love for beauty. They used materials available in abundance in their land or imported from foreign countries: stone, wood, mad, copper, iron, gold, silver, ivory, and valuable stones. Thus, they made brilliant palaces, temples, and tombs, theatres and stadiums, vessels, weapons, ships, jewels and toys. They loved education and got their children educated. They travelled in neighbouring countries and traded. As it can be said, they created a civilisation.
>
> But they wouldn't leave them in peace. Many times big and powerful neighbouring peoples were conquering Cyprus, because it was a rich country, a small country but at a strategic location in the Mediterranean Sea. The Phoenicians founded commercial centres. The Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Romans occupied Cyprus for many years. The Cypriots, who loved freedom, undertook numerous struggles to throw the conquerors off their land[2].

This extract uses the strategies of unification and difference manifested in group-constituting labels to construct the main actors of the narrative. On the one hand, there are the 'Cypriots' (the terms 'Cyprus' and 'country' are also used metonymically to present this group). On the other, there are the 'others' which are unified via the referential label 'conquerors' and the lexical qualifications 'big' and 'powerful' emphasising their commonalities contrasted to Cyprus, physical size and military strength. The projection of intra-national sameness and inter-national differentiation is expanded by explicit or implicit biased predications. By positive prejudices associated with 'us' – intelligence, hard work, positive attitude towards education and aesthetics, love for freedom, devotion to country, non-violent behaviour and the capability of creating civilisation – and by negative

prejudices assigned to 'them' – aggressive behaviour and a mentality of opportunism and self-seeking. These stereotypes signal the pervasive use of the strategy of positive 'self'-presentation and negative 'other'-presentation in the textbooks.

This text constitutes an interpretation of the past as a series of subjections and freedom struggles. This is evident in the adverb 'many times' and past continuous which convey the message of repetitive conquests by the out-groups; and, in the adjective 'numerous', projecting the in-group's repeated struggles. This reading of the past is also the conclusion from the following argumentation:

- Cyprus was a rich country and at a strategic location in the Mediterranean Sea.
- The Cypriots were a small and weak people, contrary to their neighbouring peoples who were big and powerful.
- Their neighbours were aggressive and self-seeking, while, the Cypriots, in contrast, were peaceful and loved freedom and their land.
- Therefore, many times the 'others' occupied the island and the 'self' undertook numerous struggles to throw the conquerors off their land.

By implication, the past is also interpreted to contain epochs of autonomy, periods in which the in-group progressed, made brilliant things, travelled, traded, in general, created a civilisation. This implicit reading of the past is also backed and justified by argumentation consisting of three explicit or inferable loci:

- The Cypriots were efficient, loved education, and were characterised by intelligence, hard work and love for beauty.
- Materials were available in abundance in their land.
- Their neighbouring peoples left the Cypriots in peace to create their civilisation.

Alongside a unique *habitus* and distinctive past, this passage emphasises the in-group's singularity in relation to their destiny as a small and defenceless people fighting for freedom and survival against big and powerful peoples. Thus, the Cypriots are a people of endurance despite repeated subjugations, and of defiance regardless of its size. Similar

topics, *topoi* and language are also conveyed by the main textbook narrative, which we now turn to explore.

Times of heteronomy

This theme occupies the most eminent place in histories and is accorded strong negative and emotional connotations[3]. The analysis reveals that it is organised around the following sub-themes: 'our' subjugation to 'them'; 'our' suffering due to 'their' oppression; 'our' struggle for survival and freedom; the belittling of 'their' rule; heteronomy as a consequence of geography; heteronomy as cultural stagnation; and a unique culture as a result of contact with 'them'.

Contact with 'others' as subjection, oppression and suffering

The contact between the 'self' and the 'others' is frequently designated as subjection. It follows that 'our' political as well as social, economic and mental conditions tend to be addressed in a depreciatory way, as a *locus terribilis*. For this dreadful state of being, the 'others' are held responsible. This locus is often accompanied with another argumentative scheme: contact with various 'others' posed a threat to 'our' very existence. These loci are used as a strategy of negative presentation that aims to fore-ground the negative implications for 'us' of contact with 'them'. Its linguistic realisation takes primarily the form of vocabulary choices: by derogatory modes of referring to the nature of contact, to the periods of contact, and to 'us' and 'them'; and, by deprecatory predications assigned to the in-group's condition. Consider this extract:

EXCERPT 1 (from the chapter titled 'Tourkokratia', textbook Ga):

In general, the Cypriots, like the other slaves, were suffering under the heavy Turkish yoke. They were obliged to pay heavy taxation, such as the capital tax and charatsi, and were exposed to the arbitrariness and the greed of the Turkish pashas. Their personal self-respect, safety, dignity, as well as their possessions were submitted to the absolute power of the Turks. The Church, local authorities, and state regulations published from time to time were hardly able to protect the enslaved Hellenism of Cyprus who expected to see light in the deep darkness of Tourkokratia[4].

The messages of subjection, suffering and oppression are constructed by negatively wording the nature of contact. Here, contact between 'the Cypriots' and 'the Turks' is

designated as 'yoke', generating inferences of harsh treatment and lack of liberties that was difficult to bear. The illocutionary force of these inferences is intensified in various ways, for instance by the use of the adjective 'heavy', the verb 'suffer' and the group label 'slaves'. This mode of reference (yoke) has the effect of stressing that the presence of 'them' in Cyprus was a threat to 'us'. In the textbooks, the narration of the subjection periods is littered with this term, as well as other semantically similar ones such as 'capture', 'seizure', 'occupation', 'subjugation', 'conquest', 'subjection'. Following Reisigl and Wodak, both the repetitive utilisation of this terminology and the intensification markers can be construed as giving expression to involvement strategies which highlight the writers' engagement in nationalist discourse and aim at emotionally and cognitively engaging readers in this discourse[5].

Similar negative meanings are also reflected in the excerpt title. The title highlights that the chapters dealing with subjugation periods are labelled by the previously presented lexical formula: *name of a people + the ending -kratia*. In the Greek language, this signifies the in-group's captivity by an out-group, so Tourko*kratia* means captivity by the Turks. There are five further periods of this sort in histories: Perso*kratia* (captivity by the Persians), Romaio*kratia* (by the Romans), Eneto*kratia* (by the Venetians), Franko*kratia* (by the Franks), Anglo*kratia* (by the English). This formula also carries strong negative connotations which can be classified in at least four semantic fields:

- The first is 'slavery' and is inferred from the wording 'bitter servitude', 'black slavery', 'many afflictions', 'unnumbered chores', 'pressures', 'endless difficulties', 'humiliations of any kind', 'exploitation', and, 'oppression'. The image evoked is of *kraties* as periods of slavery and of the in-group as degenerated slaves who were forced into labour and suffered oppressions, exploitations, and humiliations by their masters – the out-groups.
- The second classification renders *-kraties* as 'trial' and 'martyrdom'. This is evident in words such as 'great trial(s)', 'suffering', 'wild persecutions', 'martyrdoms' and 'bloody sacrifices'. The 'self' is depicted as either faithful Christians who suffered grief in trials or as martyrs who were treated in a cruel way by their persecutors, the 'others', and were even martyred for faith.

- The third field includes the lexical choices 'black years' or 'days' and 'deep' or 'tangible darkness'. This lexicon found in *Persokratia* and *Tourkokratia* is open to many readings. It allows an interpretation of these *-kraties* as 'nights' where the in-group was in a state of slumber. The word 'darkness' also alludes to criminality, aggressiveness, illegality, and insecurity and so do these periods. The reading of these *-kraties* as times of sadness is also possible since the 'black' colour connotes mourning.
- The fourth is 'barbarism' and is apparent in the derogatory terms 'many murders', 'wild plunders', 'atrocities', 'slaughters' and 'arsons' deduced from *Tourkocratia* and *Frankokratia*. This wording portrays the two *-kraties* as periods marked by the cruel behaviour of barbarians – the 'others' – and the suffering of their victims – the 'self' – and as epochs where the 'self' was under the threat of annihilation.

The reading of *-kraties* as subjugation, oppression and suffering – and the making of the main actors of this topic – is also articulated by referential modes. The most frequent group labels used by the textbooks to denote the in-group and the out-groups are presented in Table One below.

Table One. Lexicalisation of the main actors in periods of heteronomy

'we' are addressed as...	**'they' are referred to as...**
- Cypriots, Cypriot people, Cypriot Hellenism, Greeks of Cyprus, Greek Cypriots	- Franks, Turks, English, Romans, Phoenicians, Persians, Egyptians, Venetians, Ptolemy etc.
- the conquered or subjugated people	- conquerors, the conqueror
- slaves or the enslaved people	- masters, the master
- the ruled people, subordinates, second class citizens	- rulers, the ruler, superiors
- locals, natives, the indigenous population	- foreigners, the foreigner
- a small people	- great powers, the big and powerful
- the majority	- a small minority
- the poor	- the rich
- defenders, fighters, insurgents, revolutionaries	- invaders, attackers
- victims (of tyranny, repression), a martyred people	- oppressors, tyrants, the oppressor, the tyrant

This table illustrates the two strategies employed to construct and represent the actors in these periods. First, an assimilation strategy serving the purpose of constituting two unified groups of actors. This is evident in both columns in the use of such terms as 'Cypriots', 'Turks' or other referential labels which identify groups of persons linguistically by depicting them as sharing the same experiences or as engaging in similar actions. In the second column, similarity is reinforced by "collective singulars". The singular stands not

only for a whole group of 'others' but also for all of 'them'[6]. Second, a dissimilation strategy that is mostly expressed through referential antonyms, for example 'subordinates' vs. 'superiors', 'locals' vs. 'foreigners'. Through this strategy, the exclusiveness and distinction between the two groups is created by insinuating a symbolic frontier between a foreign world of power, repression, exploitation, wealth and aggression, and a local world of subjugation, distress, slavery, poverty, resistance and freedom struggles.

In the textbooks, the blame for 'our' dreadful condition is projected onto 'them'. This integration of the *locus terribilis* into the locus of consequence is uttered in the following statement: "the Cypriots had the hope that the Turkish administration would bring an end to their misery which was due to the Venetian misrule"[7]. Consider another example taken from Tourkokratia: "[b]y the end of the 18th century, Cyprus had got into a state of total decay and the misery of the people had reached its extreme end. Causes were natural disasters, such as earthquakes and drought, locusts and diseases, together with the misrule and arbitrariness of the governors, the heavy taxation and the lack of interest for the development of the island's resources"[8].

The disparagement and delegitimation of foreign rule and rulers

In both the above quotations, the nouns 'misrule', 'arbitrariness' and 'lack of interest' highlight that the making of *-kraties* is also accompanied by disparaging 'their' administration on the island and 'them' as its rulers. Through the term 'misrule', the Venetian and Turkish administrations are associated with disorder and unfair and inefficient rule. Similarly, the words 'arbitrariness' and 'lack of interest' function to further disparage the Turkish rule by associating it with lack of care and arbitrary decisions. These negative predications are part of a larger lexicon of despotism repeatedly used in the textbooks to assign an autocratic character to foreign administrations. It also includes nouns like 'tyranny' and 'dictatorship' which are often qualified by such intensity markers as 'real' and 'brutal'; epithets like 'harsh', 'violent', 'authoritarian', 'unbearable', 'cruel', 'unfair', 'oppressive' and, such adverbs as 'dictatorially', 'tyrannically', 'high-handedly'.

This disparagement is expanded by prejudiced depreciatory traits predicated to 'them' as rulers. This is exemplified below with a list of *clichés* of negative prejudices[9]. At

the same time, this list highlights that biased content was often articulated primarily through simple past as statements of fact and truth:

The Romans:

1. Once he [the emperor] was informed that the inhabitants [of Cyprus] were being tortured by the injustices, the embezzlements and the treacheries of the governor and the state servants...
2. The first governors were harsh...

The Venetians:

3. The Venetians proved to be worse rulers than the Franks.
4. Processions, honour and dignity, personal liberty, were all effortlessly violated by the Venetians...

The Turks:

5. There were many dragomans who worked for the protection of the Greek inhabitants and the limitation of the voracious dispositions of the governors and the aghas.
6. ...the condition of the Christian rayias did not improve because of the incompetence and corruption of the civil servants who imposed heavy taxation on the inhabitants.

The English:

7. However, these changes did not manage to revitalise the economy and to achieve the prosperity and the standard of living that the new conquerors had promised.
8. The response of the allegedly liberal representatives of the English people...

A whole range of debasing attributions are (re)produced against the foreign rulers here. The 'foreigners' are regarded as autocratic, dishonest, self-seeking or harsh; they are charged with corruption, bribery and frauds; they are accused of failing to keep their promises as well as behaving illegally and immorally; they are also seen as guilty of injustice and treachery, and generally, as totally unfit or incompetent to rule. This set of pejorative attributes aims at explicitly de-legitimising 'foreign' governments and at implicitly justifying a need for 'local' self-government. These slurs against 'them' also imply a bundle of positive prejudices towards 'us', including the prejudices that 'we' were a democratic, free, moral people, totally fit to rule ourselves, and that 'we' were characterised by fairness, kindness and honesty.

The above quotations also contain the locus of character: because the out-groups' character was as it was, certain afflictions and threats were imposed to the in-group. This locus is frequently used in combination with the locus of interests which can be stated as follows: the out-groups acted as they did because they had particular interests. Both schemes are embedded in the following excerpt: "... the Venetians rigidly demanded the shipping of wheat in Venice, even during those difficult years. This was causing starvation,

threatening even the physical survival of the inhabitants of the island, and led to riots..."[10]. The conclusion or claim of this citation, and of the narration of every *–kratia*, can be uttered as in the following statement: the state of starvation of the Cypriots (the *locus terribilis*) that threatened even their physical survival (the locus of danger) was the result of the shipping of wheat in Venice (the locus of interests), and the stubbornness and senselessness of the Venetians (the locus of character).

The obligation to (re-)act: local struggles for survival and freedom

The above citation highlights a second conclusion deriving from the representation of the *-kraties*: the state of starvation of the inhabitants and the threat of physical survival led to riots. This depiction of the in-group's action as reaction to circumstances brought by the out-groups' interests and character is repeatedly used in the textbooks as a strategy of justification that aims at legitimising 'our' negative action against 'them'. This is part of the strategy of positive 'self'-presentation that serves to promote a positive imagery of 'us', facilitating the identification of readership with nationalist discourse. Consider two further extracts:

1. The Hellenism of Cyprus lived under extremely difficult conditions which, in some cases, compelled them into unsuccessful revolts against the conquerors.
2. The inhabitants of Cyprus led a difficult life. They paid too many taxes. They were tortured every day. They did not feel secure. All of these made the Cypriots seek for an opportunity to throw the Persians away. They couldn't wait for the time to revolt[11].

In these excerpts, the justification strategy is evident in the lexical choices of 'compelled' and 'made'. It takes the form of victim-victimiser reversal which functions to transfer the blame of the victimiser's negative actions to victim: not 'we', but 'they' are to blame for these actions because not 'they', but 'we' led a difficult life. Here, as in every *–kratia*, the reader is called upon to understand the in-group's actions as an inescapable necessity, as a need to improve their dreadful living conditions, to get a better treatment under foreign dominations and to throw the foreigners off the island and set themselves free.

The positive depiction of the in-group through the justification of their actions is also apparent in the ways of lexicalising these actions. A group of terms such as 'revolts', 'risings', 'uprisings', 'revolutionary movements', 'struggles for freedom', associates 'us'

with attempts to change the autocratic system of government and to obtain freedom. The term 'struggles' is qualified in a few occasions by the adjective 'just', implying that these were reasonable and fair, and based on moral principles. Another cluster of expressions such as 'social protests', 'social risings', 'social reaction to the foreign regime', positions 'us' as being engaged in struggles against 'their' oppressive regimes to bring about change in 'our' abject conditions.

Heteronomy as cultural decay and the image of a Cypriot hybrid culture

In the narration of *-kraties*, the cultural state of the in-group is also portrayed in great detail[12]. Often, this is also addressed in a negative way. The image of *-kraties* are described as periods of cultural decay and the blame for 'our' recess is also projected explicitly or implicitly onto 'them'. This topic is presented by combining the *locus terribilis* with the causal locus of external constrains as for example, arts were in a state of decline due to subjugation. This combination aims to fore-ground the negative implications of heteronomy for 'our' cultural expression. It can be also seen as a strategy of trivialising 'our' failure to create culture by shifting its responsibility to the 'others'. These loci are apparent in the statement: "[p]ainting in Cyprus was non-existent during the periods of Frankokratia, Venetokratia, Tourkokratia and about half of Anglokratia"[13]. The imagery of recess is evoked by the word 'non-existence' and elsewhere, by lexical choices like 'decline', 'decay', 'decease' and 'inactivity', often used to qualify arts. The trivialising attribution of blame for 'our' cultural decay to the 'others' is implicitly embedded into the terms *-kraties*. It is explicitly suggested in such utterances as "...we have no information on Cypriot poets or novelists, but this should not be considered as a weakness of the Cypriots to engage in literature. It was the result of the foreign rule...". To cite another example: "... the Cypriots, people and the clergy, lived under constant pressures and constraints [of the Franks] and it was not possible to create serious scholarly work"[14].

At the same time, the condition of the in-group's culture, especially in arts, tends to be also addressed in a positive manner during the *–kraties*, with the exceptions of Tourkokratia and Persokratia. Behind this tendency, the concept of a Cypriot culture is often discernible[15]. This culture is represented as a multicultural entity, as the product of the creative assimilation of other cultures: the fusion of a native eteo-Cypriot culture with

Greek (Mycenaean, Aegean, Cretan, Ionian) and Eastern cultures (Phoenician, Palestinian, Syrian, Egyptian) during the pre-historic and early ancient times; and, the synthesis of the Byzantine culture with Western ones (Venetian and Frankish) during the late middle and modern times. A closer look at the narration of antiquity reveals the in-group's first golden age. In the Cypriot-archaic period, "the cultural growth of the island was great, especially in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., the island lives its 'golden age' "[16]. But this epoch is not construed as a period of heteronomy, but as one of semi-independence (seen as dependence with a measure of local autonomy): "During this period [referring to Egyptian rule], Cyprus, when it had some sort of independence, advanced a lot in the arts and education"[17].

The projection of a Cypriot culture is often achieved via four strategies: the strategy of assimilation with the goal of stressing that the local culture was the product of a synthesis of other cultures; the strategy of positive presentation, aiming to invoke a positive image of both culture and the 'self' as its creator; the strategy of uniqueness, intended to stress its authentic and distinctive character; and, the strategy of heteronomisation that aims at identifying foreign influences. Consider these two extracts:

EXCERPT 1 (from the section titled 'Arts', textbook L1):
But the Cypriot potters, assimilating the foreign styles and recruiting their creativity and observation, created their own types of vessels from the 16th century B.C. in various styles[18].

EXCERPT 2 (from the section titled 'Literature and arts in the era of Frankokratia', textbook G&L):
...the Cypriot painter and iconographer, with a skilful combination of the Byzantine painting style that became a passion to him with the classical painting of Renaissance, which he had known from the Franks, created unique masterpieces[19].

In these utterances, the integration strategy is expressed by the verb 'assimilate' (extract one) and the noun 'combination' (extract two); that of distinctiveness by the phrase 'their own types of vessels' (extract one) and the adjective 'unique' (extract two); that of positive presentation by the predicates 'creativity' and 'observation' (extract one) and the epithet 'skilful' and the predicate 'masterpieces' (extract two); and, that of heteronomisation by the phrase 'foreign styles' (extract one), and the terms 'Franks' and 'Renaissance' (extract two).

These two extracts, notably by use of the simple past, draw attention to a tendency in textbooks to present historical interpretation as truth and to enact specific pedagogic

relations. They present writers as impartial servants of factual knowledge and the readers as passive assimilators of facts. This tendency is perhaps more explicit in the following statement found in the preface of textbook P3&4 that "[p]upils must learn about the history of their country"[20]. Underpinning this utterance, and the textbooks in general, is a view of history as an objective recording of the past and a view of the purpose of pedagogic act as the transmission and acquisition of historical knowledge. As said in Chapter Five, these perspectives on the nature of history and pedagogy are major features of the traditional history textbook genre. There was an attempt in textbooks, especially those written in the late 1980s and published in the early 1990s, to include the new history feature of teaching history via sources. However, the function of the sources used in histories is to back the main narrative plot rather than to offer alternative perspectives on the past for the reader to see both sides, weigh things up and adjudicate.

The island's location as agent of culture and history

The community's culture and history are often interpreted as having been shaped by the geographical position of the island. To put this proposition forward, the writers rely on two loci of consequence. The first is the locus of advantage, positively linked with culture. It stresses that the location of Cyprus was advantageous to the in-group because it led to the creation of a unique culture (including not only arts but also religion, technology, commerce and everyday culture). The second is the locus of disadvantage, negatively connected with history. It stresses that the geographical features of Cyprus were disadvantageous to the in-group because they led to repeated heteronomy. This 'yes advantageous, but unfavourable, too' form of argument can be seen in the following excerpt from textbook L1:

> The position that fate positioned the island in the Mediterranean, close to countries with long-established civilization like Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt – at the crossroad of the East and the West – was for Cyprus both a blessing and a curse. A blessing, because it became the place of meeting of ideas and cultures (of the eastern and Aegean) that Cyprus assimilated productively, creating a culture that has the stamp of her distinctive personality; a curse, because its strategic position attracted, from the ancient times until today, those who were thirsty for power in the East and the Mediterranean...[21].

Here, the evocation of the island's location as both beneficial and unfavourable to Cyprus is expressed via the antonyms 'blessing' vs. 'curse'. This wording serves to articulate a thesis

of geographical determinism. Space was a positive agent in the formation of the people's culture via the facilitation of cultural exchanges and influences. At the same time, it was a negative agent in the shaping of its history by providing an arena for foreign intervention, conquests and authoritarian regimes. As the temporal deixis 'until today' indicates, location still plays a negative role in history, alluding to 'the Turkish invasion' (see below).

Further linguistic clues – 'strategic position', 'at the crossroad of the East and the West', 'many peoples wished to make Cyprus theirs' – highlight a strategy of emphasising the unique importance of the island's location. In terms of content, its singularity largely revolves around the issue of political, economic and naval supremacy in the East and the Mediterranean. Linguistically, it is realised by other adjectives such as 'neuralgic', 'good', 'important', 'favourable' and 'significant' (also referring to location), and such phrases as 'centre of attraction', 'apple of discord' and 'object of rivalries', which carry connotation of something very attractive and desirable – thanks to its uniqueness.

Times of independence

Unlike the periods of subjugation, the ages of autonomy are accorded with positive associations. Three particular epochs of this sort are extracted from a reading of the textbooks: the Ancient Greek age of artistic creativity and intellectual discovery – of architects, poets, sculptors, philosophers, and scientists; the Byzantine period of religious creativity, when sages and priests lived and directed the lives of the in-group; and the period of Cypriot Independence – the era of the Cypriot state and the country's heyday of social and economic growth and welfare. The first two types of periods are embedded into the strands of Hellenism and Christianity and will be analysed later. It is the era of the Cypriot state that is explored here.

Autonomy, development and welfarism: legitimising the Cypriot state

The analysis of those chapters referring to the epoch of the Republic of Cyprus (1960-74) reveals that it tends to be construed as a 'mini' golden age, or, as an era of regeneration after *Anglokratia*[22]. To construct and convey this topic, the writers often adopt a strategy of positive presentation (of the period). Its linguistic expression takes

predominantly the form of vocabulary choices. This is illustrated with the following example from textbook Ga:

EXCERPT 1 (section titled 'Development', chapter titled 'Cypriot Republic'):

With the declaration of the Republic, there began exceptional development in every aspect. The road and telecommunication systems were improved, new dams for irrigation were constructed, electricity was extended and an infrastructure was created for the growth of industry. In the area of education, there were spectacular changes. Secondary education came under state regulation and the educational conditions were improved considerably. At the same time, literature and the arts blossomed[23].

The wording used by this passage to create a positive image of this era derives from the semantic field of developmentalism and modernisation – 'development', 'improve', 'growth', 'construct'. The adjectives 'exceptional' and 'spectacular', and the adverbs 'considerably' and 'increasingly' add to the intensity of this image, highlighting once more the involvement of authors in the naturalisation, legitimacy and distribution of Cypriot nationalist discourse.

Other words utilised elsewhere in histories by the writers to contribute to the production of this image include adjectives like 'rapid', 'great' and 'unprecedented' that often concur with the word 'development'; such verbs as 'modernise', 'advance', 'organise' and 'increase'; and, the nouns 'improvement' and 'progress'. This lexicon tends to concur with categories such as 'agriculture', 'industry', 'transport', 'education', 'electricity', 'trade', 'tourism', pointing at the meaning of the phrase 'in every aspect'. Also observable in the textbooks is the use of a vocabulary of welfarism to further reinforce this positive image – 'unemployment and sickness benefits', 'free medical care', 'disability pensions', 'free basic general education', 'allowances to the self-employed', 'full employment'.

The title of the chapter from which the above extract is taken highlights that the agency of modernisation and welfare is assigned to the state. In the following extract, this is conveyed overtly via active clauses: "[t]he state emphasised the growth of industry. It created industrial areas and gave loans and technical help for the creation of factories"[24]. This textual reading of the state as the agent of progress and prosperity is also manifested in visual representations. In textbook G&L, for instance, the narration of this era is illustrated

by a photo of the Presidential Palace with the caption "Here began all the expectations for a happier future after the demise of colonialism..."[25]. This positive depiction of the state serves to justify its existence.

The construction of continuity

The broader theme of autonomy and heteronomy embeds two further strategies with the purpose of establishing links – and thus, the continuity of the 'self' – between these two sets of periods. The first is a transformation strategy and is deployed to emphasise discontinuity in the transition from subjection to autonomy and vice versa. The second is a continuation strategy and is used to stress the continuity of political subjection and appalling socio-economic and mental conditions from one *-kratia* to another. They are exemplified with two excerpts:

EXTRACT 1 (from the chapter titled 'The Persians in Cyprus', textbook P3&4):
The inhabitants of Salamis were not as happy and well-off as they used to be earlier. The majority of them now live in poverty. They had fewer clothes and less furniture, and their life was more difficult[26].

EXCERPT 2: (from the introduction of modern Cypriot history, textbook Ga):
However, the adventures of Cyprus did not come to an end with her declaration as an independent state. In 1974, Turkey invaded the island occupying 38% of its territory, and spread devastation and destruction. Since then, Cyprus has been fighting for the re-establishment of its territorial integrity and the throwing out of the invaders[27].

The first excerpt contains the transformation strategy. It is evident in the use of the contrasting locus of difference which is realised through temporal deixis, comparisons and negation. This *topos* serves to generate and evoke two different temporalities in terms of the in-group's socio-economic and mental condition. The first is a time of subjection and, by implication, the second is a time of freedom where 'we' were happy and well-off, lived in prosperity, had more clothes and furniture, and 'our' life was less difficult.

The continuation strategy is embedded in extract two. It is expressed by the conjunction 'however' and negation – the adventures of Cyprus did *not* come to an end. Here, the choice of 'adventures' draws an analogy between 'Cyprus' (metonymically implying its people) and Ulysses. The effect of this parallelism is the creation of the past as

the Odyssey of the Cypriots. The Cypriots, like Ulysses, are imagined to have gone through many perils caused by the various 'others' as they sailed to Ithaca – the symbol of freedom. The use of present perfect further reinforces and conveys the message that their Odyssey has not come to an end yet. In other words, what is implied here is the reading of the in-group's present as oppression, suffering and struggle for survival.

The making of the common present: the Cyprus problem

The representation of this topic is often associated with motifs identical to those used in the representation of *-kraties*. This means that the image of the present also resembles the *locus terribilis*; that the blame for this situation is also ascribed to the (Turkish) 'others'; and that the in-group still struggle for survival and autonomy. In other words, the narration of the present depends on the strategy of negative presentation. In this context, however, its sub-topics and arguments also operate as a strategy of continuation, with the purpose of creating continuity with the past, and as a transformation strategy, aiming at fore-grounding a necessity to change this dreadful present into a better future. The construction of this topic is illustrated with the following extract:

EXCERPT 1 (from the chapter titled 'The Cypriot Republic', textbook P5&6):

Four years have passed since the coup and the Turkish invasion. The 40% of our land is under Turkish occupation. Four thousands our dead and two thousand the missing persons. Some 200 thousand Greeks have been forced to abandon their houses and belongings and they live as refugees under miserable conditions. Those who stayed behind are being humiliated and are suffering at the hands of the conqueror and with numerous blackmails are also being enforced to abandon the land of their fathers.

The Turkish Cypriots, who used to live in the free areas, were forced by their leaders to move to the Turkish-occupied territories and they are suffering too, like their Greek compatriots.

The Turks are blackmailing us to legalise what they have wrested with violence from us. Such a thing cannot come to pass. Our people are small and defenceless. They were dragged like a sheep to the slaughter and they watered their land with tons of blood and tears. But they did not bend. In their tragic ordeal, they demonstrated dignity, endurance, vigour, belief in their rightful struggle. They will endure until Justice is done[28].

This text constructs the present by combining the present tenses with pejorative predications and references highlighting its negative image in six semantic fields: as 'tragic ordeal' symbolising the in-group as faithful Christians who are being humiliated and are suffering in trials brought against them by the evil; as the mourning of 'our dead' and 'the

missing persons' – often reinforced by visual images of women in black and in tears holding photos of their missing persons and crying; as the 'invasion' and 'occupation' of 'our' land by 'the conqueror' who have brought about the island's division into 'free areas' and 'occupied territories'; as the expulsion of a large part of the in-group from 'their' houses and belongings, living now as 'refugees' under miserable conditions; as the repression of certain of them to abandon 'the land of their fathers'; and as the criminality and pressures of 'the Turks' who are blackmailing 'us' to legalise what 'they' have wrested from 'us' with violence. Implicitly embedded in this multilayer image of the present is continuity between past and present via the motifs of anguish and tribulation, occupation and oppression, injustice and victimisation.

This continuation with the past is also manifested in three other topics: the in-group's struggle for freedom and justice, the positive depiction of their *habitus*, and the pejoration of the Turks. The expression 'such a thing cannot come to pass' serves as a call for fight, a call to resist and defy 'the conqueror' and their 'blackmails' that aim at perpetuating the island's occupation and territorial division. This political objective and duty – held to be shared by all members of the in-group including the readers and writers as indicated by the deictic 'us' – is also conveyed by the term 'struggle', which is qualified as 'rightful', carrying connotations of justice and morality. Alongside the belief in a just and moral struggle, and the readiness to fight for fatherland, the in-group's *habitus* is portrayed to exemplify dignity, physical and mental strength, fortitude and determination. These positive traits are implicitly contrasted to the behavioural dispositions of the Turks who are described as violent and harsh (denoted by the terms 'invasion', 'violence'), criminals (by 'blackmails') and butchers (by 'slaughter').

The strategies of negative presentation and continuity are often accompanied with a transformation strategy that aims at stressing a necessary difference between the present and future. In the above extract, this emphasis is embodied in the term 'struggle' and the conviction that 'they will endure until Justice is done'. The term connotes negatively the continuity of the present and positively its change, which acquires the meaning of the creation of a better future – the product and realisation of this struggle. Similarly, the conviction projects a better future which is positively described as the time when 'Justice is done'. The utterance 'such a thing cannot come to pass' also renders occupation and

territorial division as unthinkable and unjust. What is thinkable and just, then, is "the re-establishment of the island's territorial integrity", "the throwing out of the invaders" and the enactment of "an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal, federal Republic"[29].

The image of a bi-communal Cypriot people

This text constructs and presents 'Turkish Cypriots' (*Tourkokyprioi*). This term and that of 'Greek Cypriots' (*Ellinokyprioi*) found earlier are both manifestations of a strategy of unification. This strategy is used in textbooks with the purpose of constituting a Cypriot people consisting of two distinct ethnicities in terms of culture and descent. The two terms, as said in Chapters Three and Four, indicate not only both their national differences and their commonalities as Cypriots but they also distinguish them from the Greeks and Turks as the inhabitants of Greece and Turkey. According to the above passage, solidarity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is based on common territory, a common enemy or scapegoat image (the Turkish Cypriot leaders as guilty of ethnic separation), common suffering due to division and common victimisation.

In the textbooks, the origins of the Turkish Cypriots are often placed in the advent of the 'Turks' in Cyprus (1571). "Immediately after the Turkish conquest there was a decrease in the Greek population of Cyprus; it was precisely at that time when the core of the Muslim community was created on the island ... its initial core constituted of immigrants and servicemen to whom land was given; their later increase was due to the religious assimilation of the Christian population"[30]. This quote conveys the message that one part of this community is of Turkish origins and another is composed of Christians that converted to Islam but are Greek in origin. This message is backed by a series of sources deployed to argue for "the Greek origins of the Turkish Cypriot". It is also apparent in the derogatory terms "*Islamisations*" (qualified in two occasions by the adjective "massive" and the metaphor "big wave"), "*etourkepsan*" (becoming Turkish) and "*paidomazoma*" (the kidnapping of children), invoking inferences of enforced conversion to and acceptance of Islam and Turkishness[31]. This reflects Greek Cypriot intellectual attempts during the period 1960-74 to delegitimize the Turkish Cypriots demand for self-government.

The analysis reveals that Cypriot solidarity is primarily based on a common state and land. This is embedded in the recurrent reference of the two groups as 'compatriots'. This is an explicit assimilative reference, denoting solidarity based on the civic elements of *ius soli* and citizenship. Other references with similar connotations include the terms 'Cypriots' and 'the Cypriot people'. As shown before, these two terms tend to be used interchangeably with the labels 'Greeks of Cyprus' and 'Cypriot Hellenism', indicating the belongingness of the in-group to the Greek nation (see narrative of Hellenism). Yet, in some cases, these two terms are used to refer both to Greek and Turkish Cypriots. One such usage is evident in portraying the composition of parliament during *Anglokratia*: "1882: 15 Cypriots [elected] [12 Greeks + 3 Turks]", and "1925: 15 Cypriots [elected] [12 Greeks + 3 Turks]"[32]. Another occurrence comes from *Tourkokratia*: "The people, Greeks and Turks, when they found out about..."[33]. Here, it is important to note that the unifying term 'Cypriot nation' never occurs in the textbooks. The only evidence overtly suggesting that there was such a nation is the reference to Vasilis Michailedes as "the national poet of Cyprus"[34].

Another form of giving expression to Cypriot unity is the narration of "cases in which Cypriots, Greeks and Turks, cooperated to tackle common problems"[35]. In all these stories – taken from Tourkokratia and employed for the purposes of empirical illustration and proof of unity – both groups are positioned as facing common problems and enemies, i.e. socio-economic oppression by governors and thus, as being engaged in "uprisings, in fact social protests", to liberate themselves from this repression and to improve their living conditions. Also important in the projection of unity is the presupposition of the peaceful co-existence between them: "...thousands of Turkish Cypriots were moved from their villages where they had been living peacefully with the Greek Cypriots until then, and settled in pure Turkish Cypriot areas"[36]. These 'villages' are often qualified as "mixed" that also connotes assimilation and invokes the image of living together peacefully. This image, which was appropriated from the post-1974 academic historiography, is further reinforced in textbooks by stressing their commonalities in social life: "[t]he visit of both the Turks and the Greeks to the baths was a major aspect of the social life in the period of Tourkokratia"[37].

The textbooks also draw upon the motif of dual identity put forward by the New Cyprus Association. Consider this extract: "...the cultivation of very close ties with Greece by the Greeks, and with Turkey by the Turks, underlined their decision to make the island a place of prosperity without losing the national descent of each of the two groups"[38]. Here, the author does not deny the Greek and Turkish national descent of Cypriots and their cultural links with Greece and Turkey (Greek identity). At the same time, he also emphasizes a Cypriot common will in relation to future welfare (Cypriot identity).

However, the tendency to stress assimilation frequently occurs side by side with an emphasis on dissimilation which functions to differentiate the two groups. Therefore, apart from religious and cultural difference, they are seen as having other Cypriot specific differences with relation to the groups' size and their relation with the constitution; the common state, and blame for inter-group violence. Consider the following utterances[39]:

Size and the constitution:

1. Undoubtedly, the benefits that the Zurich settlement gave to the Turkish Cypriot community were clearly greater (in numbers) than those given to the Greek Cypriots who still constituted the overwhelming majority of the population.

The state:

2. The Turks were obstructing the functioning of the state.
3. ...the Turks pursued the partition of Cyprus...
4. [The Turkish Cypriots] do not aim in the creation of a unified state, but they seek to divide the island and to dissolute the Cypriot state.
5. ...the intentions of the Greek Cypriot side [were] to pursuit the modification of the constitution in order to abolish or diminish its divisive and negative elements.
6. ...such a persistence of the Greek Cypriot side on the idea of the union of Cyprus with Greece.
7. [The Greek Cypriots agreed to] the pursuit of an independent, bi-communal, federal Republic...

Blame for violence:

8. At the beginning of August, 1964, following the provocation of the Turkish rebels, there began fierce battles in the Mansoura area with many victims from both sides.
9. ...as a warning to EOKA because it supposedly planned 'slaughters' against the Turkish Cypriots.

In histories, as these statements illustrate, the Turkish Cypriots are portrayed as the privileged, uncooperative, and troublemaking minority. During the period 1960-67, they are charged with the uneven function of and disloyalty to the state. They are also accused not only of going up against its authority, but also of engaging in conspiracy to dismantle it. Finally, they are said to be guilty of violence against their compatriots. In the post 1974

period, they are accused of aiming to establish a separate state on the island, and thus, of not collaborating in the creation of a unified state.

In contrast, the Greek Cypriots are positioned as the wronged and reconciled majority. During the period 1960-67, they are depicted as devoted to the state, engaging in attempts to improve or abolish its disruptive aspects; union with Greece is not perceived as a threat to the state because it existed only in their minds and they never took any action to realise it. Also, they are seen as obliged to re-act against the attacks of their compatriots, and so, as unfairly accused of intended hostility against them. In fact, the use of quotation marks in 'slaughters' seems to suggest that the Greek Cypriots are incapable of serious violence. After 1974, they are portrayed as pursuing a bi-communal independent state.

These propositional contents put forward here highlight the utilisation of the strategy of positive 'self'- and negative 'other'-presentation to construct and represent the two groups. It is linguistically realised through references (e.g. the derogatory labelling of Turkish Cypriots as 'rebels'), and predications (e.g. appreciative to the 'self' such as 'the modification of the constitution to abolish or reduce its divisive and negative elements', and depreciatory to the 'others' such as 'provocation'). This strategy aims at attributing to the Turkish Cypriots the responsibility for conflict, the collapse of the state, the division of Cyprus, and the post-74 impasse in the Cyprus problem. It also insinuates a symbolic frontier between a Turkish Cypriot world of illegality, aggression, privileges, conspiracies and the betrayal of the state and homeland, and a Greek Cypriot world of disadvantages, legality, commitment to and defence of the state and homeland, injustice and victimisation.

6.4 The narrative strand of Christianity

The central theme of this narrative is the persistence of the Christian (Orthodox) faith and consciousness of the people of Cyprus over the *long durée*. This strand places the origins of Christianity in *Romaiokratia*. As an Orthodox community, the Christians of the island are seen as going through the golden age of the Byzantine civilisation. But they were under a constant danger of religious conversion by other peoples who made their way through the island or conquered it. Despite threats, they managed to maintain their faith and religious consciousness, mainly thanks to the efforts of the Cypriot Orthodox Church. In

this narrative, the Christian 'self' is the main actor and the various non-Christian and non-Orthodox 'others' who passed by or ruled Cyprus at different historical periods are the supporting cast.

The Christianisation of Cyprus

The textbooks often depict the rise of Christianity in Cyprus as a significant event and assign positive connotations to it[40]. An utterance taken from textbook L1 demonstrates this point: "[t]he turning point in the history of Cyprus during the Roman era is the Christianisation of the island by Apostles Paul and Barnabas, which began in 45 A.C."[41]. The positive consequences of this event are not evident here, but they can be extracted from the adjectives "true" vs. "fake" used by textbook P3&4 to qualify Christianity and paganism respectively. This implies that, with Christianisation, the people of Cyprus turned towards the real religion and moved away from the false one.

Implicit in the above utterance from L1 is the proposition that Christianisation was a gradual process of the full conversion of the in-group from paganism to Christianity. This gradualism is inferred from the verb 'began', while that of full conversion from the toponym 'the island', serving both as a metonymy and generalising synecdoche, a place standing for *all* its inhabitants. These two lexical choices underline two strategies deployed by the writers to present the founding topic of this strand – the transformation strategy that aims to emphasise difference and the unification strategy with the intent of stressing homogenisation. Examples of the two strategies can be seen in these excerpts:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'Barnabas and Paul to the island', textbook P3&4):

We learned that our olden ancestors were pagans. That is, they worshiped the twelve gods of Olympus. But we are Christians. We believe in Christ and have different rituals. How and when did this change occur?[42]

EXTRACT 2 (from the section titled 'The propagation of Christianity', textbook Ga):

In the first apostolic years three religions co-existed in Cyprus: the ancient Greek, the Hebrew and the Christian. The worship of Aphrodite continued to dominate and it took more than three centuries for Christianity to be completely established and to jettison the national religion[43].

The first passage employs a comparative locus of difference to emphasise transformation. This is mainly realised by the tense system and the word 'change' which project two different temporalities in terms of the in-group's religion: the unspecified past in which

'our' olden ancestors were pagans and the present where 'we' are Christians. Here, the pronoun 'we' and the possessive pronoun 'our' constitute and evoke sameness by letting fall into oblivion all currently-existing religious differences within the in-group (e.g. heresies, Marxism), and by excluding from the 'self' the non-Christian groups (e.g. Turkish Cypriots) living on the island at the present.

Implicit in extract one is also the message that the in-group's present continues to be defined by Christianity. This emphasis on the historical continuity of Christian faith is often tied in with a perpetuation strategy, aiming to project an unproblematic and everlasting existence of religion in the future, and by implication, of the in-group, via its faith: "... here [Cyprus], there will be people who will praise the name of God forever"[44].

The transformation strategy is also observable in the second passage, notably in the verb 'jettison' that connotes the discontinuity of the worship of Aphrodite. The temporal deixis 'more than three centuries' constructs a reading of the propagation of Christianity as a gradual process. Another linguistic clue, the adverb 'completely', illustrates and suggests the perspective that *all* the inhabitants of the island were Christianised at a particular historical moment. The use of this adverb functions to erase the possibility of heterogeneity and to produce instead religious homogeneity within the in-group. Here, this historical interpretation is conveyed as definite and uncontested knowledge, implying that the writers are the servants of historical truth and the pupils are the passive assimilators of that truth.

The Byzantine period as a Greek golden age

This topic is extracted from the narration of the Byzantine period that occupies a prominent place in the textbooks[45]. Its representation tends to begin with the division of the Roman Empire. The following extract exemplifies this beginning:

EXTRACT 1 (from the introduction of the 'Byzantine period', textbook L2):
After the death of Theodosius (395), the Roman state was divided into the Eastern and Western part. The Eastern part of the Roman state, with Constantinople as its capital, will be Hellenised, will be Christianised and will, for about a thousand years, be the bastion of Christianity in the East. From the 4th until the 12th century, Cyprus belonged to the Eastern Roman state, that is, the Byzantine Empire[46].

First, this quote highlights the late-nineteenth century myth of Greek historiography that the Byzantium was a Greek empire. This, as was indicated in chapter three, was the product of

the work of the historian Paparrigopoulos who managed to bring together Hellas and Byzantium into a framework marked by the continuity of the Greek nation – from ancient Hellas through medieval Byzantium to modern Greece. This fusion is perhaps best captured in textbook P5&6. Emperor Constantine's "state was named Byzantine Empire, from Byzantium, and created its own culture, which was derived from the pairing of the Greek culture and Christianity and for this reason it is called Greco-Christian"[47].

Second, this text suggests that the in-group were part of this state (the term 'Cyprus' is a metonymy of place for its people). This emphasis on belongingness is also manifested in metaphors. First, there is the tree metaphor: Comnenos "declared himself, through an act of treachery, as governor of Cyprus and became the reason for the island to cut off from the Byzantine trunk..."[48]. It symbolises the in-group as a branch of the tree, the Byzantium, which was cut off from it by an unnatural cause. Second, there is the body metaphor embedded in the references to Constantinople as "the heart of the Greek world", and to Cyprus as "the limbs of the empire"[49]. It enacts unity by ascribing a human body to Byzantium with Constantinople as its heart and Cyprus as amongst its limbs. Third, there is the family metaphor that is evident in the expressions "the motherly interest of the Byzantine emperors" and "[a Byzantine Governor of Cyprus] governed [Cyprus] justly and fatherly"[50]. It represents the Byzantine emperors (implies metonymically Byzantine Hellenism) as tender parents, and the in-group as their beloved child who is treated in a very caring and loving way. All these metaphors carry strong connotations of unity, and taken together, construct and naturalise the membership of the in-group in Byzantium.

This motif of belongingness is often grounded on the features of race and culture, which are projected as key pillars of Greekness. This can be seen in the extract below:

EXTRACT 1 (section's title 'The Byzantine period among the most Greek periods of the island'):
On the contrary, the undoubted preservation in Cyprus of all those elements that make up the Byzantine culture (Church letters, folk songs, church architecture, mosaics, iconography, frescoes) shows the steady connection of the island at what it considered as national centre, something that is also evident in the founding of the most historical monasteries and churches by Byzantine Emperors...and their endowment with privileges shows the vigorous interest of the Empire not in a subjected people but in a part which it considered tied on it racially and religiously[51].

This passage deploys the comparative locus of similarity as the strategy of presupposing sameness. This locus is evident in the sentence 'the undoubted preservation in Cyprus of all

those elements that make up the Byzantine civilisation' (shared culture). This strategy is also expressed by two other content-related loci: Byzantine Emperors founded the most historical monasteries and churches on the island; and, they endowed the Cypriot Hellenism with privileges. A fundamental part of this strategy is the deconstruction of a possible reading of the Cypriots as 'a subjected people' and the Byzantines as conquerors, and this is achieved by means of negation. On the contrary, the Cypriots are seen as a part which was tied on them 'racially and religiously'. In fact, the two peoples are one entity, the Greek nation or Hellenism. This can be inferred from the extract's title where the adjectives 'Byzantine' and 'Greek' are made equivalent.

As a natural part of Byzantine Hellenism, the in-group is seen as going through the golden age of the Byzantine civilization. This content occurs in the statement that "[d]uring the Comnenian kingship (1081-1185), Cyprus was introduced to and got acquainted with the Comnenian arts, which, together with the arts in the epoch of the Macedonians, is the second 'golden age' of the Byzantine arts". Elsewhere, the readership is informed that "[t]he art of the era of Justinian is the first 'golden period' of the Byzantine arts"[52]. These quotations articulate the view that the golden periods were epochs of creativity and achievements in the arts religiously-defined by Church letters, folk songs, church architecture and monasteries, mosaics, frescoes and iconography.

A closer look at the textbooks reveals that not only were the in-group introduced and got acquainted with the Byzantine arts but they also constitute a unique exemplar of the artistic, religiously-based greatness of Hellenism. This can be seen in the following statement taken from textbook L2: "Cyprus was among the very few divisions of the Byzantine Empire which exhibits simultaneously so many and excellent works of the Byzantine arts"[53]. The strategy that underlines this utterance, and many others in the textbooks, is that of stressing the sub-Byzantine or sub-national (positive) uniqueness of the in-group. It constructs intra-national difference without threatening the unity of Hellenism.

The above utterance from textbook L2 also draws attention to the nature of this uniqueness: the quantity, denoted by 'so many', and the quality, signified by 'excellent', of the Byzantine arts in Cyprus. The most frequent positive characteristics – and means of their linguistic realisation – predicated to these arts are the following:

In relation to quantity:

Quantifiers like 'five thousand churches and chapels', 'lots of churches', 'the abundant Byzantine icons of Cyprus', 'so many creations' and 'an unusually big number of monasteries'; metaphors like 'a chain of castles' and 'the richness of creations'; and hyperboles like 'countless churches'.

In relation to quality:

Referential labels such as 'treasures', 'works of art'; collocations with such adjectives as 'rare', 'unique', 'magnificent', 'splendid', 'superb', 'excellent'; and other predicative noun-phrases such as 'treasures of unimaginable value', 'icons of splendid technique', 'the magnificent technique of the mosaics', 'artistic pieces of incomparable quality', 'examples of unique perfection'.

These predications (many of which are extracted from captions accompanied with photos of churches, monasteries, mosaics, frescoes and iconography) can be also seen as expressing an implicit strategy of positive 'self'-presentation that typifies the in-group as a *habitus* with outstanding creative abilities. This strategy is often explicitly manifested in the textbooks, an example of which is the following extract: "The Cypriot maker of mosaics proved itself to be among the best in the world"[54].

Heteronomy as a threat to the Orthodox faith

Contact with religiously different groups, especially in the context of foreign rule, is often articulated as a threat for the Orthodox faith of the in-group[55]. Contact with 'others' may have negative consequences and it can be of two subtypes: the locus of Islamisation, conversion to Islam, as a possible consequence of interaction with the 'Turks' in *Tourkokratia* and with the Arabs during the Arabic raids (in the Byzantine period); and, the locus of Latinisation, conversion to Catholicism, as a possible result of interaction with the 'Franks' during *Frankokratia*. Consider the following excerpts:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'Efforts for the Latinisation of the Cypriots', textbook P5&6):

The Pope readily considered this request as a golden opportunity to latinise the Cypriots… The Pope orders then to reduce the Abbeys of the Orthodox down to four from fourteenth…[56].

EXTRACT 2 (from the introduction of *Tourkokratia*, textbook L3):

The arbitrariness of the local governors, the heavy taxation, the frequent natural disasters and the revolts of many officers let into frustration the Greeks of Cyprus; some of them were Islamized, the majority of which by name only, in order to get rid of their inflictions[57].

Both extracts contain several other argumentative schemes of Greek identity discourse. Extract one implicitly relates the danger of Catholic assimilation with the oppression of the

Orthodox Church of Cyprus. That is, conversion to Catholicism was possible only with the suppression of the Orthodox Church. It is explicitly stated in textbook Ga: "[i]n this way, the Catholics believed, the Orthodox Church, away from the majority of its flock, would not be able to carry out its mission and the Cypriot people without the encouragement of its leaders would be assimilated"[58]. It is also apparent in a lexicon of despotism and subjugation used by the writers to constitute and represent the nature of contact between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches – for example, the repeated use of the words 'oppression' and 'pressures' often occurred with intensity markers like 'great', 'tremendous', and 'systematic'. As mentioned earlier with reference to Reisigl and Wodak, these markers function to emotionally and cognitively engage the readers in Greek nationalist discourse and to highlight the writers' engagement in the making and legitimacy of this discourse.

Implicitly embedded in the logic of danger of faith conversion is the motif of resistance to Catholic assimilation and struggle for faith preservation – by church and people. This proposition can be deduced from phrases such as: "the reaction of the Church of Cyprus against the Latin Church", "the reaction of the people", "the struggle for the maintenance of the Orthodox religious consciousness of the Greeks of Cyprus", "a struggle for religious survival", "the struggle for the preservation of the Orthodox religious belief of the Greeks of Cyprus".

Excerpt two links Islamisation with four other loci. Some members of the in-group were compelled to convert to Islam due to the arbitrariness of the local governors, the heavy taxation, the frequent natural disasters and the revolts of many officers (the causal locus of external circumstances). However, this assimilation was largely by name only (the locus of conversion by name only and the contrastive locus of comparison), and aimed to get rid of their afflictions (the locus of super-ordinate aim). Together, these loci are deployed here as a strategy of justification which intends to trivialise the willed conversion of in-group's members to Islam by rationalising it as an inescapable necessity and shifting its blame to factors beyond their control.

By implication, if the circumstances that make some members of the in-group convert to Islam were external, and if this conversion was by name only, these members could return to Orthodoxy when the conditions were right. The locus of right circumstances

is explicitly manifested in textbook L3: "[m]ost of the times this Islamisation was by name only and the forswearers waited for the right circumstances to return to their fathers' faith". But, those 'forswearers' who did not go back to Orthodoxy "were cut off from the Greek community of Cyprus"[59]. The effect of this proposition is to exclude implicitly non-Orthodox Christians from the in-group: one must be an Orthodox Christian to belong to the Greek community of Cyprus.

This line of argumentation of the threat of faith conversion presupposes differences in religious beliefs between the in- and out-groups. Difference is implicit in the two excerpts quoted above as the verbs 'latinise' and 'islamise' assume two different faiths and a shift from the one to the other. It is explicit in phrases like the following: "[t]he difference between the Orthodox and the Catholics were so big that they did not allow them to attend the mass in the same Church"[60]. Also, it is embedded in contrasting referential categorisation through which the religious exclusiveness and distinction between 'us' and 'them' is created – 'Muslims' vs. 'Christians' and 'infidels' vs. 'believers' to address 'Turks' and 'us'; and 'Catholics' vs. 'Orthodox' to refer to Franks and 'us'.

The persistence of the Orthodox faith and consciousness

The analysis reveals that the textbooks also tend to emphasise the persistence of Christian religion and consciousness in the in-group despite threats of conversion. This topic is created and presented through a strategy of continuation. The aim and effect of its utilisation is to render unthinkable the possibility of discontinuity in the Christian Orthodox faith of the in-group. This is clearly exemplified in the following extract:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section called 'The victory of the Church', *Frankokratia*, textbook G&L):

The Pope's decisions, aphorisms and seizure of church land, did not manage to weaken the religious consciousness of the people, who proved in practice their determination to remain faithful to their fathers' faith. It is certain that the Bishops accepted the stamp of Alexander D, it is, however, even more certain that the recognition on their behalf of the Pope as the Leader of the Church did not distance them from Orthodoxy, which they kept as their religious dogma despite pressures for the opposite[61].

The construction and evocation of persistence is prominent here. This is achieved through the comparative locus of similarity. This is realised in three distinct ways: by negation ('did

not manage to weaken religious consciousness'); by the lexical unit 'remain faithful' denoting continuity; and, by the 'victory' metaphor, evoking an image of triumph in the struggle for faith against Catholic oppression. The effect of this locus is to project a Greek *habitus* marked by loyalty to Orthodoxy including readiness to fight for its maintenance.

In this passage, the combination of the two-part conjunction 'it is certain that... it is even more certain that' with the conjunction 'however' serving to fore-ground the content of the second part of the sentence and to back-ground the content of the first part. This weighting of content allows the author to trivialise the acceptance by the Orthodox Church of Catholic supremacy on the island and a possible discontinuity in faith. This two-part statement contains an implicit inter-discursive relationship between a Cypriot view of Christianity and a non-Cypriot or "outside Cyprus" perspective that seems to be challenging the continuity of Orthodoxy and the role of the Church as a guardian of faith. A clear example of this relation is the following extract:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'The Church as guardian of the Orthodox faith', textbook L3):
The Orthodox clergy of Cyprus was forced, in order to preserve Orthodoxy on the island, to accept, certainly by name only, the subjugation to the Latins. Nobody, however, could doubt their piety to the Orthodox faith. So, lots of bitterness was caused to the Cypriots by some views expressed from time to time and which criticized the stance of the Orthodox Church of the island. ...their strict stance against the Church is due to the fact that they did not understand that this superficial subjugation contributed to the reassurance of the physical and national survival of the Greeks of Cyprus[62].

In this passage, the authors are involved in an attempt to construct the Church's loyalty to faith – and by implication, the continuity of Orthodoxy – and to deconstruct its possible submission to the Catholic Church – and implicitly, the discontinuity of Orthodox faith. This dismantling is realised in three ways: by assigning cognitive deficiency ('they did not understand') and unfairness ('their strict stance') to the rivals' character; by appealing to the negative emotions of the Cypriots ('lots of bitterness') assumed to be caused by this antagonistic stance; and, by labelling the acceptance by the Orthodox Church of Latin supremacy as 'superficial subjugation' and pointing out the aim of this subjugation ('to preserve orthodoxy') and its positive consequences ('contributed to the reassurance of the physical and national survival of the Greeks of Cyprus').

The Church as the guardian of the people, Orthodoxy and Greekness

Implicit in the above passage is the depiction of the Church as the guardian of people and their national and religious identity. This is the final topic of the strand of Christianity and is extracted from the accounts of the period of the Frankish and the Turkish rule[63]. It is evident in positive predications deployed to specify and characterise the activities of the Church. Some of the most frequently used predications are reproduced below:

The guardian of the people: the protection of life, the honour and the property of the rayiades; the reduction of the taxes or the introduction of other measures for the improvement of the living conditions of their flock; the removal from Cyprus of harsh governors; and, the reversal of decisions by powerful governors and the restoration of fairer administration.

The guardian of identity and faith: the development of the Greek education of Cyprus; the preservation of the religious faith and the national consciousness of the Hellenism of Cyprus; the cultivation of the religious and national ideals; the assurance of the physical and national survival of the Greeks of Cyprus; and, the vitalisation of the national sentiment.

The following excerpt from Tourkokratia also generates and evokes this positive image of the Church: "it is thanks to the Church that the Hellenism kept its national consciousness irreducible and its religious sentiment elevated, two weapons with which not only did it survive but also dominate the conquerors"[64]. Alongside the image of the Church as the guardian of faith and identity, this passage explicates an important assumption of this strand, that of the superiority of Christianity *vis-à-vis* Islam and of the Greek culture compared to the Turkish one. This is manifested in the metaphorical depiction of the in-group's religious sentiment and national consciousness as two weapons with which they dominate the conquerors. Superiority is evoked through superior-subordinate reversal: not 'us', but 'they', are the subordinates. This metaphor can be also interpreted as a 'yes, but' form used to trivialise 'our' subjugation to 'them'. In other words, yes, 'they' conquered 'us' politically and militarily, but 'we' dominated 'them' religiously and culturally. Orthodoxy is also assumed to be superior to Catholicism. This is evident in the utterance that the Orthodox Church "not only managed to survive and preserve its faith pure, but also to have an impact on the Catholic, which finally retreated"[65].

Two further messages can be extracted from this passage. First, it is implicitly suggested that Hellenic national consciousness and Orthodox religious sentiment define who the in-group are, "for the religious and national consciousness were basically identical in the soul of the people"[66]. The lexical choices of 'consciousness', 'sentiment' and 'soul' also reveal the writer's thinking about nationality and religion: they are inner essences existing in the very nature of human being. Second, these two essences are also weapons with which the in-group managed to survive throughout historical time. This implies that their preservation is the condition for survival in the future. This meaning is explicitly expressed in the following statement which appears in the epilogue of textbook G&L: "[t]hese, together with the constant focus on the national and religious traditions, are unbeatable arms for the success of the just struggle of the Cypriot Hellenism"[67].

6.5 The narrative strand of Hellenism

This narrative revolves around the continuity of the Hellenic national consciousness and the Greek character of the people of Cyprus. This strand locates the origins of Greekness in prehistory with the migration of the Mycenaeans in Cyprus, an event designated as 'the hellenisation of the island'. As a Hellenic community, the Greeks of the island are seen as going through the golden age of the Greek Classical civilization. However, they were under the danger of 'de-hellenisation' by other peoples who made their way through the island or conquered it. Despite the threats, they managed to maintain their identity. This endurance embodies the people's demand for political union with the Greek state, a demand which was ultimately abandoned. The setting of the narrative is the Hellenic world and its main actors are the Greek 'self', a community of stubborn loyalty to their Greek tradition, and the non-Greek 'others' who threatened Greekness at different historical times.

The authorial intent of the narrative

The main plot of this strand can be firstly extracted from the preface of textbook L1 titled "Introduction to the History of Cyprus". This introductory note has the capacity both to reveal why authors are engaged in the writing of the textbook and to inflect the way the

readers interpret the past and present of their community and its nature and destiny. Here is an excerpt:

> Many peoples (or groups) made their way through Cyprus or conquered it: Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Ptolemies, Romans, Arabs, Crusaders, Franks, Venetians, Turks and English. However, the inhabitants safeguarded the Greek character which had been formed since the Mycenaeans had settled on the island, at the end of the Later Bronze period; this is evident in the language as much as in the tradition[68].

The projection of the continuity of the in-group's Greek character culturally-defined by the Greek language and tradition is prominent here. Two linguistic means are used to stress continuation. First, there is the tense system which gives expression to the comparative loci of difference and similarity. These loci construct the view of the distant past as the origins of 'the Greek character' of the inhabitants of Cyprus, and of the present as the epoch where this character is still evident. Second, there is the conjunction 'however' employed to realise the contrastive locus of comparison. This implicitly suggests the perspective that the in-group 'safeguarded' (carrying connotations of preservation) their character, despite repeated attempts by many ethnically different peoples to suppress, change or destroy it.

In this excerpt, there is also strategic emphasis on difference and sameness, which is linguistically manifested in group-constituting labels (such as 'Turks', 'Franks') and the epithet 'Greek' (it evokes a Greek unified people). Through these two strategies, both the constitution of the 'self' and the 'others', and their differentiation, are created by insinuating a symbolic frontier between a Greek world of subjugation, defiance, resistance and struggles, and a non-Greek world of power, conquests, oppression and threats. This division highlights the destiny of the 'self' in a world of nations – to preserve their Greek character by defending it against 'others' who tried to change or destroy it. This, in turn, is related to the implied message of Cyprus as a Greek land, both at the present time and throughout history, as well as a specific perspective on the nature and *habitus* of the Self – 'we' are a Greek cultural community of shared language and tradition, and of stubborn loyalty to them, including the readiness to fight against powerful peoples for their maintenance.

The hellenisation of the people of Cyprus

The analysis of the main textbook narrative confirms this tendency to place the origins of the Greek identity of the in-group in the Mycenaean migration to Cyprus[69]. This is designated as 'hellenisation' and is portrayed as 'the foremost event of Prehistory':

EXTRACT 1 (from the preface of the chapter 'The period of Bronze', textbook L1):
The foremost event of Prehistory with enormous extensions into History and the destiny of the island is its hellenisation from the first Greeks, the Mycenaeans. The Mycenaeans settled in Cyprus at the beginning as traders and later as colonists and introduced their culture, that is, their language, religion, institutions and arts. All these, having been developed and shaped throughout the centuries, are until today living elements of our cultural identity[70].

Three remarks can be made about this passage alongside the reading of the continuity of Greekness since the arrival of the Mycenaeans. First, it offers a definition of this identity based on the blending of the cultural elements of language, arts and religion with the political element of civic institutions. Second, it projects the existence of a Greek community on the island and positions both the writers and readers amongst its members. This is inferred from the qualification of the Mycenaeans as 'the first Greeks' that alludes to the Greek historical interpretation of the Greek nation as Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greeks, and the deictic 'our', which evokes sameness based upon a presumably shared Greek culture. Fourth, the effect of using this possessive pronoun is to implicitly exclude those groups within Cyprus that do not share this culture, mainly Turkish Cypriots.

In this passage, the verb 'introduce' denotes a beginning, indicating one of the four discursive strategies used to construct and convey the 'hellenisation' thesis – the strategy of transformation that aims at stressing the substitution of an indigenous Cypriot culture by the Greek one. The second is the strategy of assimilation deployed to emphasise homogenisation by presupposing that all the inhabitants of Cyprus embraced this culture. Silencing cultural heterogeneity and continuity after 'hellenisation' is also promoted by the strategy of avoidance. The last is the strategy of positive presentation used to represent 'the first Greeks' and their advent on the island appreciatively. Two quotations illustrate these strategies:

EXTRACT 1 (from a section titled 'The gods of Ancient Cypriots', textbook P3&4):

In the very old times, the Cypriots worshiped several gods. At the beginning they worshiped the same gods that the habitants of the neighbouring countries of the East did. ... Later the Greeks came to Cyprus. ... They believed in the twelve gods of Olympus. With time, the Cypriots too believed in the gods of the Greeks. Gradually, the Greeks and most of the Cypriots mixed and became one people. This people were Greek. They spoke Greek[71].

EXTRACT 2 (from a section titled 'Political organisation', textbook L1):

Before the Greek colonisation, Cyprus seems to be a unified kingdom (that of Alasia), which shared many similarities with the big kingdoms of the East. After the permanent settlement of the Achaeans, at the end of the Later period of Copper, the unified kingdom of Alasia was cut into separate kingdoms, each of these, basically, comprises a city, on the model of the kingdoms of the Greek space [72].

Both extracts use the comparative locus of difference to emphasise change, as it is evident in the temporal conjunctions 'at the beginning...later' (extract one) and 'before...after' (extract two). It serves to stress difference between the political organisation and religion of 'the Cypriots' prior and subsequent to the arrival of 'the Greeks'. Its effect is to project the substitution of the cults of Eastern gods by that of the Greek gods, and of the Eastern-based system of government by that of the Greek city-kingdom. These are gradual changes, as indicated by the adverbs 'with time' and 'gradually' in excerpt one.

In extract one, the second occurrence of 'the Cypriots' insinuates homogenisation – all believed in the Greek gods. This is clearly realised by the adverb 'completely' in the statement that "by the end of prehistoric period, Cyprus is completely hellenised"; and by the adjective 'complete' in the nominalisation "the complete hellenisation of the island"[73]. The utilisation of this nominalisation, which often appears in section titles, can be seen as an effort by the writers to offer the easily-absorbed generalisation to the readers that 'the Greeks' came to Cyprus with their culture and 'the Cypriots' adopted it fully and peacefully. Viewed differently, it serves to suppress any possible resistance to cultural change by the natives, and to minimise the possible co-existence of an indigenous culture with the Greek culture. In the textbooks, cultural heterogeneity is mentioned in a couple of cases, but it has to be inferred from other places. In textbook G&L, it is embedded in *Persokratia*, notably in referring to Amathous as the city of "all the pro-Hellenic descent habitants of Cyprus – the so-called eteo-Cypriots"[74]. In textbook L1, to mention another example, it is evident in a footnote: "Elements of their [eteo-Cypriot] culture are found on the island until the 4 century B.C."[75].

Finally, extract two highlights the use of the strategy of positive presentation of 'the Greeks' and their advent to address this topic. In contrast to many other peoples, the Greeks' arrival on the island does not represent conquest but 'settlement' and 'colonisation'. They are frequently referred to as "settlers", "colonists", as "friends with the Cypriots" and from whom they learned very useful things[76]. This terminology does not match with the image of aggression and illegitimate presence but evokes peaceful advent and belongingness. Positive traits are also predicated to 'the Greeks', either explicitly, seen as "industrious traders", "famous potters", a people with "intensive commercial activity" and "great civilisation"; or implicitly, for example by means of illustrations of their objects of pottery, jewellery and sculptures. These predications imply reading them as a skilful and hard-working people, as bearers of a great culture and of a superior trade spirit, and, more crucially, as "our ancestors", a phrase that serves to integrate the element of a shared descent to the definition of Greek identity. This can be also deduced from extract one, from the utterance that 'the Greeks and the Cypriots mixed and became one people. This people were Greek'.

Constructing belongingness: the people of Cyprus as part of Hellenism

This emphasis of similarity between 'the Cypriots' and 'the Greeks', a unification strategy used to position the in-group within the Greek nation, is also evident in the narration of historical times. It is embedded into the choice to narrate specific events and figures in ancient and modern times, especially in the meaning ascribed to them. Unity between the Cypriots and the Greeks is mainly grounded on the belief of shared descent and *habitus*, on common fights and sacrifices and enemies and on common values. Consider a few examples:

In antiquity, the textbooks emphasise:

- the alliance between the Cypriots and the Ionies, who "were Greeks", "to set Ionia and Cyprus free from Persian rule"[77].
- "the repeated Greek operations for the liberation of Cyprus from the Persians" that were part of "a wider campaign for the expulsion of the Persians from Greek territories". Although these operations ended in failure, they "resulted in the solidification of the Greek consciousness of the Cypriots based on common freedom struggles", "contributed to the realisation that the island was part of Hellenism" and "revived the sentiment of common descent"[78].

In modern times, emphasis is laid on:

- the sacrifice of Archbishop Cyprianos and other priests as the Cypriot contribution to the Greek War of Independence. "The Cypriots, with the sacrifice of the national martyrs, paid heavy tribute to the Struggle of National Insurrection". Cyprianos is also depicted to embody those noble qualities held to be Greek: devotion to and even self-sacrifice for homeland, freedom and justice, audacity and dignity before death, and strength of will[79].
- the making of the EOKA struggle as a Greek national war in three ways: by encouraging readers to compare the oath of allegiance to EOKA with that to *Philiki Eteria*; by inviting them to find "the perennial values of the race" (referring to the Greek race and implying those epitomised by Cyprianos) in the EOKA proclamation; and by drawing analogies between EOKA events and Greek ones through allusions triggered by phases such as *molon lave* (equating the battle of Machairas with that of Thermopylae) and *to neo hani tis Gravias* (the barn of Liopetri is made analogous to the inn of Gravia)[80].

This strategy is also expressed in the use of referential labels and metaphors. As shown earlier, the in-group are often addressed as 'Greeks of Cyprus' and 'Cypriot Hellenism', terms that position the 'self' within the Greek nation. The enactment of sameness is further achieved by symbolising the in-group as "brothers with the Greeks", and Greece as "the mother" (of the in-group), or "the motherland" which 'we' wanted to be united with[81]. These metaphors imply a familial relationship between Cypriots and Greeks, conveying a sense of unity bound up by kin relations. The same effect has the metaphorical depiction of Greece as "the national trunk", and of Athens as "the national centre"[82]. The image evoked here is of Hellenism as a community extending beyond the borders of Greece and including Cyprus amongst its parts.

The rise of Hellenic classical culture in Cyprus: another Greek golden age

As a natural part of Ancient Hellenism, the in-group "came into contact with the spirit of the Greek classical civilisation" and "every aspect of the splendid civilization that comprises the golden century of Pericles was channelled to the island"[83]. Contact with and diffusion of this civilisation – defined by pottery, sculpture, architecture, poetry, philosophy, angiography and other decorative arts – is construed as a gradual process. During this process, "we observe the local Cypriot character [of arts] gradually fading away and the Greek styles becoming the dominant ones"[84].

Linguistic clues in the two above utterances highlight two of the four strategies often used to construct the theme of the rise of Greek classical culture in Cyprus. First, the use of the predicate 'splendid' to qualify 'civilisation' indicates the realisation of the strategy of positive presentation (of culture and 'self'). This aims at invoking an image of the period of the classical culture as a golden epoch – of artistic achievements. The textbooks tend to employ similar predications to the ones used in the description of the Byzantine culture to articulate this positive imagery. This image also contains the positive typification of the 'self' as a *habitus* with an inclination towards the arts and literature, and with high skills and unlimited fantasy in artistic and scholarly creation – as a community of gifted potters and sculptors, of great poets and philosophers, and of many other types of inventive genius.

Second, the verb 'fade away' is a manifestation of the strategy of transformation. This strategy is intended to represent the gradual substitution of the local Cypriot character of arts by the Greek styles – and the ascendancy of the Greek classical culture. In terms of content, it is also used to emphasise change in language. For example, "the Cypriot-syllabic script was entirely replaced by the Greek alphabet" and everyday culture. Even "the clothing and goods of everyday use show the dominance of the Greek way of life"[85].

There is also the strategy of assimilation. The objective of this strategy is to level the Cypriot arts with the Greek ones by fore-grounding their similarities. It often occurs both in the main narrative and in captions accompanied photos of archaeological findings. Consider a few utterances that exemplify it[86]:

- [The Cypriot arts] are influenced to such extend by the relative Greek and especially Athenian arts, that would make it difficult for the researcher in many cases to decide whether it was about imported objects or about copies of the Greek prototypes.
- A silver sword from a royal tomb of Salamis which astonishingly reminds of Homer's description of the royal swords of the Achaeans.
- The Hellenic styles dominate fully the Cypriot art of this period.
- An overview of the palace of Solon in Vouni as reformed in the 4th century B.C. after the model of the Mycenaean palace.

In relation to religion, however, a strategy of dissimilation with the aim of stressing religious difference between the Cypriots and the Greeks is often deployed. An extract

reads: "[t]he Cypriots continued to believe in the gods of the ancient Greeks. But they were too influenced by the gods of the Egyptians, like Osiris and Isida"[87]. The co-existence of strategies of assimilation and dissimilation exemplifies the ambivalence that describes the construction of identity in the textbooks, oscillating between Greece and Cyprus.

Finally, the creation of this topic contains a homogenisation strategy that is intended to construct the view that all the inhabitants of the island adopted the classical culture. This is achieved by projecting the Athenian cultural character of 'Salamis' as Greek and onto the whole of Cyprus: "Evagoras made sure to reconnect Salamis with Athens. Greeks began again to visit the city. Sculptors, painters, philosophers etc. came and assisted in the progress of the city... Evagoras did not manage to liberate Cyprus from the Persians. He managed nevertheless to maintain it as a Greek place"[88]. The domination of Greek culture on the island is also conveyed by reducing the history of Cyprus to the history of Salamis: "Salamis will retain this power and influence during the whole period of Persian rule in such a way that the Cypriot history during this period becomes the history of this city"[89].

Heteronomy as a threat of de-hellenization

The contact with ethnically different 'others', and especially heteronomy, tends to be addressed as a threat of de-hellenization[90]. This is also created and conveyed through the strategy of negative 'other'-presentation that aims here to stress the dangerous consequences for 'our' Greek character and culture of propagated action by 'them'. This is firstly exemplified by the following excerpt from *Persokratia*:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'Salamis under Phoenician kings', textbook G&L):
...every effort was made for the barbarisation of Salamis. The Phoenicians removed anything Greek, and by banning even the entrance of the Greeks to the city, they achieved to cause for a period the death of the arts and commerce, and the inactivation of any aspect of spiritual life[91].

This passage relies on three loci to articulate this threat: of super-ordinate aim, of definition and of consequence. The first is used to put forward that the aim of the Phoenicians was 'the barbarisation of Salamis' – other nominalisations found elsewhere to realise this locus are "the plans for the barbarisation of the island", "the attempts that the Persians undertook for the barbarisation of the island" and "the de-hellenizing policy". Taken together, these

lexical choices denote intended action to reduce 'Salamis' and 'the island' from a civilised to an uncivilised stage. The achievement of this goal entailed the removal of anything Greek from the city and the ban of the entrance of the Greeks to it. Implicitly, de-hellenisation is made equivalent to 'barbarisation', an analogy that contains the equation of ancient Hellenes and the in-group, and of barbarians (non-Greeks) and the out-groups, and that stresses the superiority of Greek culture compared to non-Greek ones. The third locus is evident in the verb 'cause' and identifies the outcome of de-hellenisation: the 'death' and 'inactivation' of artistic, commercial, and intellectual life – but for a period only.

Similarly to the Phoenicians and Persians, "the English" are seen to have also "sought to de-hellenize the island, mainly, through education, but without any success"[92]. In textbook L3, the aims of the colonial government are held to be "the creation of a Cypriot national consciousness... in order to achieve the desired weakening of the enosis movement"[93]. To accomplish that, according to textbook G&L, the government, "banned the teaching of Greek history and geography in primary schools, the decoration of the classroom walls with pictures of the heroes of the Greek revolt, the usage of the National Anthem and of the Greek flag, and more generally, it imposed the expulsion of anything that implied any sort of connection of the Cypriot Hellenism with Greece"[94]. By implication, the textbooks draw an analogy between the deconstruction of Greekness and the formation of Cypriotness, and between the weakening of *enosis* and the perpetuation of colonialism. In other words, they carry out a positive equation of Greekness and autonomy, and a negative one of Cypriotness and heteronomy.

This line of argumentation presupposes cultural difference between the in- and the out-groups. As indicated earlier, difference is embedded in and conveyed by group labels such as 'Greeks', 'Phoenicians', 'Persians', 'English', and the corresponding epithets, for example 'Greek history' and 'Phoenician kings'. In addition, it is explicitly stated in utterances such as the following: "society in the medieval kingdom of Cyprus [during the Frankish rule] displayed great heterogeneity; it consisted of the ruling class and the subjected Greek population who differed nationally, religiously, and culturally"[95].

The persistence of Greek character and culture

Linguistic clues in the utterances quoted above – 'without any success', 'for a period' –suggest that the out-groups did not succeed in de-hellenizing the in-group. That 'we' managed to maintain 'our' Greekness is manifested across all the textbooks and is frequently constructed through a strategy of continuity. Its aim is to explicitly rule in the continued existence of Greek culture and consciousness and to implicitly rule out any other way of thinking about this issue, notably that favouring the possibility of de-hellenization. This is illustrated with two extracts:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'The triumph of the national idea', textbook G&L):

All of these, however, did not manage to bend or to alter the national consciousness that was re-kindled and revitalized with the appearance of two genuine Greeks in the throne, Heleni Palaioloyina and her daughter Charlotte, who changed the rhythm of the kingdom and gave it a Greek Christian colour. When the Franks came to Cyprus, nobody could believe that after three hundred years, leaving, they would have left no sign of their transition, except from a few gothic-style churches and a handful of Frankish words in the pure Greek language of the island[96].

EXTRACT 2 (from the section titled 'Consequences of the Arabic raids', textbook L2):

But, despite all the sufferings the Arabic raids caused to the Cypriots, they had no effect on neither their religious nor their national consciousness. The religious, national and the general character of Cyprus remained unchanged[97].

Here, the construction of persistence is achieved by the locus of similarity. This is mainly expressed by negation (for example the people 'did *not* manage to bend or to alter the national consciousness' in extract one) and by lexical units denoting continuity (for example 'the national character of Cyprus *remained unchanged*' in extract two). This locus is also realized by nominalizations such as "the preservation of the Greek language by the Cypriots for 3000 years" and "the continuation of Hellenism under extremely bad conditions"[98].

Extract one suggests that the preservation of the in-group's Greekness was often achieved through the commitment of its genuine members. By carrying out "pro-Greek policies", Queens Palaioloyina and Charlotte, amongst others, changed the rhythm of the kingdom and gave it a Greek colour or re-kindled and revitalised the Greek sentiment. The assumption behind the metaphorical depiction of Greekness as 'flame' and of control over the state as 'colour' is as follows: when the state was under the out-groups' control, it had a

non Greek colour and the in-group's Greekness was burning low; when the state was under 'our' control, it had a Greek colour and 'our' consciousness was flaming high.

Also, a strategy of trivialisation is often used to fore-ground continuation by playing down foreign influences on the Greek culture. In extract one, the quantifier 'a handful of...' indicates the usage of the locus of small number to trivialise Frankish influences on the Greek language. This trivialising function is further reinforced by the 'pure' metaphor, connoting the purity of 'our' language in terms of influence by 'their' French language. A similar locus, that of small time, is embedded in the expression 'for a period' (see above), serving the purpose of playing down the duration of 'decease' and 'inactivation' of Greek arts on the island.

Elsewhere, this trivialising strategy conveys continuity by minimising the assimilation of at least some members of the in-group to foreign cultures. This is found in an utterance from Persokratia: "Poverty and abjection describes this period, and also relaxing of the national sentiment of the habitants, who, seeing that this situation was becoming permanent, tended to flatter the ruling class in order to suffer less"[99]. This strategy is realised by four euphemisms. The first designates the relation of the inhabitants with the ruling class as 'flattering' – yes, 'we' praise 'them', but this was not sincere. The second one stresses the aim of this relation – 'to suffer less' – and the third shifts its blame to factors beyond 'our' control (poverty and abjection). The fourth one reduces a possible lost of 'the national sentiment' to 'relaxing'; it was less active, but still there. All these euphemisms have hide the willed assimilation of the in-group to Persian culture.

The just demand of enosis and its deconstruction

The emphasis on the persistence and existence of a Greek people on the island entails a demand for *enosis* – union of Cyprus with Greece. Thus, the strategy of continuity functions to naturalise and legitimize this demand. In textbooks, as in historical nationalist discourses of politicians, intellectuals and church leaders (see Chapter Three), union with Greece is framed in terms of justice. It is often designated as "national restoration" and "the right" or is qualified by the adjectives "just" and "rightful"[100].

Yet, the analysis of textbooks, especially those dealing with *Anglokratia*, reveals an attempt to dismantle *enosis* as an aspect of the common present through a deconstructive strategy of stressing discontinuity and historicising. This strategy is encapsulated in the excerpt that follows and is linguistically expressed by the verb 'to denounce':

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'National demands', *Anglokratia*, textbook L3):
The demand of enosis, which was expressed at that time, rapidly developed into a national ideal, into which whole generations of Greeks of Cyprus were inculcated and cost the life of many people. When it was renounced, it caused problems of conscience[101].

This text suggests that the demand for *enosis* appeared in the Greek community of Cyprus with the advent of the British rule. Yet, another textbook depicts *enosis* as a primordial and eternal aspect of the Greek consciousness of the people: "[t]his desire was innate and fixed in people's soul because the passing of none conqueror managed to weaken their national consciousness"[102]. The issue of inconsistency and ambivalence in identity construction is also manifested in the representation of the relationship between *enosis* and the EOKA struggle. In some occasions, textbooks, alluding to Cypriot identity, articulate the reading of this struggle as a "freedom struggle" which "was embraced by all masses of the Cypriot society"[103]. In other cases, they convey the message that this struggle was aimed at uniting Cyprus with mother Greece, a meaning which evokes Greek identity.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that two positions of national identification are discursively constituted in Cyprus history textbooks after 1974: a Cypriot position which is promoted by the narrative of heteronomy and autonomy and a Greek position which is projected by the narratives of Hellenism and Christianity. The two diverse discourses about the national 'self' were identified and described with reference to the different meanings they ascribe to, the content categories of time, space, habitus and culture; to the different strategies that they employ to construct certain nationalist concepts such as continuity, unity, uniqueness, differentiation; and, to the different linguistic and visual forms and devices that they use to give expression to nationalist contents and concepts.

From a historical point of view, the occurrence of the narratives of Christianity and Hellenism in textbooks signifies continuity in national identity construction in the domain of school historiography. It was demonstrated in Chapter Five that a Greek identity discourse had been promoted by similar Greco-Christian historical narratives prior to 1974. In other words, textbooks after 1974 reflected the historical trajectory of nationhood in school history, as well as in broader society. Therefore, they can be seen as technologies of the social and cultural reproduction of the well-established image of the Hellenic 'self'.

Apart from relationships of appropriateness and inclusion, translation and opposition also characterise the link between the construction of national identity in the domain of school history and dominant nationalist discourses of other social fields. For example, Chapter Four showed that the term Greek Cypriots was utilised in academic historiography to designate the Greek-speaking Orthodox population of Cyprus during the age of nationalism. This term was appropriated by school historians, thus decontextualised first and then recontextualised, and modified to define this population throughout their history.

In school histories, there was also continuity in terms of writers' relationship to and readers' interpellation by nationalist discourse. Like pre-1974 textbooks, post-1974 textbooks convey nationalist narratives as generalised truth and their illocutionary force tends to be intensified via, for example, repetition of wording and the use of adjectives and adverbs as intensifying markers. These, and many other features, which are typical characteristics of traditional history teaching and writing, highlight the authors' involvement in nationalist discourse and the readers' strong summoning to identify with it. They further point to the compatibility of nationalist discourse with the traditional history textbook genre.

But the analysis offered in this chapter also shows that continuity in national identity construction was accompanied by change. Discursive change is primarily manifested in the crystallisation of a narrative regarding the people's past that was historically muted, ill-defined and did not occupy a great deal of space. This is the strand of Heteronomy and Autonomy which, as has been already suggested above, constructs a Cypriot position of identity for the readership to identify with.

Discursive changes in the construction of collective identity, notably the promotion of Cypriotness, can be construed both as constitutive of a post-Greek society and as reflections of broader sociocultural processes which were taking place during this period – the officialisation of a Cypriot identity in state ideology, the rise of Cypriotism in society, the disenchantment with Greece and the decline of Greek nationalism on the island (see Chapter Four). In other words, these processes, alongside the traditional history paradigm and the historical trajectory of national identity in the domain of school historiography and the wider society, were central defining elements of the context of possibility for identity reconstruction.

The effort to enact a post-Greek social order is also reflected in, and further reinforced by, shifts in school historical discourse of Greekness. The most explicit manifestation of this effort is the strategic emphasis on the deconstruction of *enosis* from the image of the present and as the destiny of the Greeks in Cyprus.

The construction of a Cypriot identity in history textbooks can be also understood against the background of wider educational reform during the period under study, especially in terms of "the independent educational policy"[104]. Instead of constituting Greek subjectivities via the transmission of Greek culture, education after 1974 was rebuilt to safeguard and maintain Cyprus as an autonomous state. The newly defined educational aim no longer revolved around the idea of inculcating Greco-Christian values and connecting Cyprus and Greece. On the contrary, it emphasised the preparation of Cypriot democratic citizens, the recovery of the Cypriot state and the promotion of friendship and understanding amongst the various communities on the island. However, the actual content of history textbooks seems to simultaneously promote and undermine this aim.

The co-articulation of Greekness and Cypriotness in school histories also works against the making of a consistent and uniform national identity. Instead, the merged discursive position is fractured, ambivalent, contradictory and hybrid, and it is up to the readers to marry and resolve its inconsistencies and indeterminacies into a coherent whole. In some occasions, the writers themselves try to work out the tension arising out of the co-existence of divergent identities. One such form of accommodation, as the following

utterance illustrates, is dual symbolism and identification: 'Evagoras did not manage to liberate Cyprus from the Persians. He managed however to maintain it as a Greek place'. Here, the idea of Cypriot political autonomy and the theory of Greek cultural preservation are fully married through the figure of King Evagoras. Hence, the community is imagined to be Cypriot *and* Greek. Similarly, the image of *-kraties* encompasses both messages of socio-economic and political repression used by the Cypriot discourse, and religious-cultural oppression employed by the Greek discourse.

This hybridisation of Greek and Cypriot identity in the domain of school historiography is a mirror of the dilemma of national identity in Cyprus – Greeks or Cypriots? This dilemma, as was said elsewhere in this thesis, emerged in a radical form after 1974. This hybridisation also means that the notion of national identity in school history, as in other social fields, is both a focus and arena of discursive struggle for hegemony, with different social groups fighting to define 'peoplehood' or 'nationhood' in their own terms.

Similar hybridisation of divergent, opposing or intersecting identities, and thus, similar ambivalence, contradictions, struggle and fragmentation are also the most significant features of national identity construction in English school histories. An account of identity formation in a sample of English history textbooks is the main preoccupation of the next chapter.

Endnotes

[1] See: Antoniades, L. (1989) *H didaktiki tis istorias* (Lefkosia, Leivadiotis) (in Greek), pp. 1-10.
[2] P3&4, p. 10.
[3] G&L, pp. 62-67, p. 70, pp. 87-94, pp. 99-104, pp. 176-279; P3&4, pp. 88-94, pp. 102-104, pp. 123-125; Ga, p. 26, pp. 32-35, p. 48, p. 56, pp. 80-83, pp. 86-89, p. 92, pp. 94-113; L3, pp. 4-263; L1, pp. 74-82, pp. 103-108, pp. 135-137; P5&6, pp. 5-9, pp. 27-97.
[4] Ga, p. 98.
[5] Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2001) *Discourse and discrimination: rhetorics of racism and anti-Semitism* (London and New York, Routledge), pp. 82-83.
[6] See: Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R., *op.cit.*, p. 57; Preiswerk, R. & Perrot, D. (1978) *Ethnocentrism and history: Africa, Asia and Indian America in Western textbooks* (New York, London, Lagos, NOK Publishers International), p. 197.
[7] L3, p. 105.
[8] L3, p. 108.
[9] See: G&L, p. 183, p. 226, p. 236; P5&6, p. 51; L3, p. 44, p. 77, p. 111, p. 150, p. 196, p. 192; P3&4, p. 93, p. 123; Ga, p. 56, p. 88, L1, p. 136.
[10] L3, p. 83.
[11] L3, p. 4; P3&4, p. 90.
[12] G&L, pp. 61-62, p. 70, pp. 109-145, pp. 215-221.
[13] L3, p. 258.
[14] G&L, p. 110, p. 215.
[15] L1, p. 54, p. 71, L3, p. 96.
[16] L1, p. 74.
[17] P3&4, p. 87.
[18] L1, p. 50.
[19] G&L, p. 219.
[20] P3&4, p. 10.
[21] L1, p. 2.
[22] G&L, p. 283; P5&6, pp. 100-104; Ga, p. 114; L3, p. 290.
[23] Ga, p. 114.
[24] P5&6, p. 101.
[25] G&L, p. 285.
[26] P3&4, p. 102.
[27] Ga, p. 92.
[28] P5&6, pp. 116-117.
[29] P5&6, p. 109.
[30] L3, p. 104, p. 163.
[31] L3, pp. 153-157.
[32] L3, p. 193.
[33] L3, p. 110.
[34] L3, p. 219.
[35] L3, pp. 108-113, p. 122, p. 182; G&L, p. 239-242.
[36] L3, pp. 280-281.
[37] L3, p. 180.
[38] G&L, p. 283.
[39] G&L, p. 287; L3, p. 275, p. 276, p. 277, p. 241; P5&6, p. 98, p. 110, p. 109, p. 99.
[40] See: P3&4, pp. 134-142; L1, p. 134, p. 138, pp. 144-145; G&L, pp. 104-109; Ga, pp. 62-63.
[41] L1, p. 134.
[42] P3&4, p. 134.
[43] Ga, p. 62.
[44] P5&6, p. 16.
[45] Textbook L2 is entirely devoted to this era. See, also: G&L, pp. 146-175; Ga, pp. 68-79; P5&6, pp. 11-26.
[46] L2, p. 3. Also, see: G&L, p. 109.
[47] P5&6, p. 15.
[48] L2, p. 3. Also, see: G&L, p. 150.
[49] L2, p. 14; P5&6, p. 23.
[50] L2, p. 11; G&L, pp. 148-149.
[51] G&L, p. 166.
[52] L2, p. 56.
[53] L2, p. 64.

[54] G&L, p. 162.
[55] See: Ga, pp. 74-75, pp. 84-85; P5&6, pp. 41-44; L3, p. 2, p. 4, pp. 22-29, p. 43, p. 49, p. 104, p. 108, p. 128, pp. 154-157; P3&4, p. 140; G&L, pp. 148-151, p. 180, pp. 182-183, pp. 221-222, p. 248, pp. 204-205; L2, p. 36.
[56] P5&6, pp. 41-42.
[57] L3, p. 104.
[58] Ga, p. 84.
[59] L3, p. 155.
[60] P5&6, p. 41.
[61] G&L, pp. 221-222.
[62] L3, pp. 26-27.
[63] See: L3, pp. 22-29, pp. 137-147; G&L, pp. 233-236.
[64] G&L, p. 248.
[65] L3, p. 28.
[66] L3, p. 22.
[67] G&L, p. 295.
[68] L1, p. 2.
[69] See: P3&4, pp. 45-50, p. 55, p. 65, p. 72; G&L, pp. 24-30; L1, p. 22, pp. 40-46, p. 50; Ga, pp. 18-19.
[70] L1, p. 22.
[71] P3&4, pp. 71-72.
[72] L1, p. 41.
[73] G&L, p. 30.
[74] G&L, p. 64.
[75] L1, p. 40.
[76] P3&4, p. 46, p. 64.
[77] P3&4, p. 90; L1, p. 79; Ga, p. 32; P5&6, p. 8; G&L, pp. 62-64.
[78] L1, p. 100-102; Ga, pp. 36-37; G&L, pp. 67-70, pp. 81-82; P3&4, p. 95.
[79] G&L, pp. 242-245; P5&6, pp. 78-85; L3, p. 2, pp. 113-121; Ga, pp. 102-105.
[80] L3, pp. 233-234, p. 236, p. 238; Ga, p. 113; P5&6, p. 93.
[81] For example, see: P3&4, p. 104; P5&6, p. 79, p. 96, p. 87; L3, p. 221, p. 223; Ga, p. 112.
[82] L3, p. 229, p. 186.
[83] Ga, p. 36; G&L, p. 70.
[84] L1, p. 114.
[85] Ga, p. 50; P3&4, p. 104; L1, p. 116, p. 120, p. 125, p. 132; G&L, p. 79.
[86] See: L1, pp. 114-120, pp. 130-132; Ga, pp. 42-43, pp. 50-51; G&L, p. 77, pp. 89-90, pp. 110-145.
[87] P3&4, p. 112. Also, see: L1, p. 131.
[88] P3&4, p. 104.
[89] G&L, p. 62.
[90] See: G&L, pp. 64-67, p. 70, p. 76, p. 215, p. 221, p. 248, pp. 257-259, p. 295; L1, p. 3, p. 103, p. 118; P3&4, pp. 93-94, p. 102, p. 104; Ga, p. 38, p. 74, p. 84, p. 88, p. 100, pp. 102-105, p. 110, p. 116; P5&6, pp. 79-85; L3, p. 2, p. 4, p. 27, p. 37, p. 89, p. 104, pp. 113-121, pp. 145-146, pp. 154-158, p. 176, p. 184, pp. 212-214, pp. 225-226.
[91] G&L, p. 70.
[92] L3, p. 184.
[93] L3, p. 213.
[94] G&L, p. 257.
[95] L3, p. 35.
[96] G&L, p. 221.
[97] L2, p. 36.
[98] For example, see: L1, p. 57, L3, p. 2, Ga, p. 92.
[99] G&L, p. 70.
[100] For example, see: L3, pp. 221-251.
[101] L3, p. 221.
[102] G&L, p. 261.
[103] L3, p. 235.
[104] Koutselini-Ioannidou, M. (1997) Curriculum as political text: the case of Cyprus (1935-90), *History of Education*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 403-406.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Discursive constructs of national identity in England: the perspective of history textbooks

7.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to engage in a critical reading of a sample of history textbooks in England which were produced after the introduction of a national curriculum in history in the late 1980s (see Appendix I for the list of textbooks). The purpose of this engagement is to examine how national identity is discursively constructed. It was suggested in Chapter Two that discursive identities can be identified and described with reference to discourse contents, concepts and strategies, and also according to how they are expressed in language and visuals.

The argument of Chapter Seven is that it is possible to discern two different constructs of national identity in the textbooks – a British and an English identity formation. These identities are embedded in and projected by three historical narratives: the strand of Expansionism; the strand of Constitutionalism; and, the strand of Society, Economy and Culture[1]. The effect of the blending of Britishness and Englishness in histories is the articulation of an overall position of national identification which is ambivalent, hybrid, contradictory and fractured.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first is a brief outline of the general aims and purposes of history teaching and writing during the period under study. In attempting to reveal the meanings attached to the two identity constructs, the second section looks at the constitutional strand, the third at the expansionist strand and the fourth at the socioeconomic and cultural strand. The final section is the conclusion of the chapter.

7.2 The aims and purposes of history teaching and writing

The purposes of school history, according to the national curriculum in history, can be divided into two categories:

- personal, social and civic aims to do with the pupils' sense of national identity, cultural roots and shared inheritances;
- aims significant to the subject itself to do with arousing interest in the past, disciplined enquiry and a grasp of historical concepts and historians' methodology[2].

Underpinning these two sets of aims is a hybrid paradigm of history teaching and learning; that is, the goals from both the traditional and new history are mixed together. This means that there is continuity in terms of the purposes of school history compared with an earlier period.

This co-articulation of aims is also evident in the textbooks themselves. For example, the back cover of every textbook of the series *A Sense of History* describes each and every textbook as using "a combination of narrative and intriguing and unusual sources to tell good stories well. It invites the pupils to explore some of the choices faced by men and women at the time, the decisions they made, and the ideas they held". The activities in textbook "enable pupils to investigate and use the wide range of sources and viewpoints offered". Here, on the one hand, the aim is 'to tell good stories' partially in a narrative form. This alludes to traditional history which constructs the writer as a knower who tells what had actually happened in the past and the pupil as a passive assimilator of historical knowledge. On the other hand, the verbs 'to explore', 'to investigate' and 'to use' evoke new history aims. They constitute the pupil as a young historian who can construct his/her own understanding of the past by being engaged in historical inquiries, and the writer as a facilitator of the pupil's investigation and exploration of the past from a range of perspectives and sources. Yet, this blending of aims, as the analysis will attempt to show, creates tension and is one of the major sources of ambivalence in national identity construction in school histories.

7.3 The origins of the English nation

The analysis of the textbooks shows that the founding period of the English nation tends to be located in the advent of the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings or Danes in Britain[3]. This theme is often articulated through three strategies. The first is the transformation

strategy which aims at constituting the ascendancy of these folks in south Britain and the substitution of a native British-Celtic culture, polity and race by those of the newcomers. This strategy can be seen in the following statements:

- The Britons fought back but slowly the Anglo Saxons took over much of the south of Britain. They set up their own kingdoms.
- The people of Wales were descended from the British who had lived throughout England and Wales before and during the time when Britain was part of the Roman Empire. When the Saxons invaded after the Roman occupation, the defeated British retreated to the west.
- The part of Britain they took over also took on a new name. It was called Angle Lang (England)[4].

All these utterances have in common the locus of difference evoking two different periods in terms of the racial composition of population in England and its political control. The first is the time prior to the conquest of the south of Britain by the Anglo-Saxon invaders marked by the existence of Britons throughout England and the ruling of this part of Britain by them. The second period refers to the time where the Anglo Saxons took over much of the south of Britain. They set up their own kingdoms, introduced their way of life, and they renamed the land that they conquered into England. Britons were driven out of England as they were defeated by the Anglo-Saxons.

Second, there is the use of the unification strategy aimed at projecting the formation of a unified English nation by the tenth century, racially being made up of the assimilated Angles, Saxons and Danes, and its solidarity was based on a centralised, dynastic state. This is evident in utterances containing assimilative particles ('all', 'whole') as in the following extracts: "[t]he Viking Cnut became king in 1016. He was the first king to rule over all of England"; and "[i]n 973 Edgar, the Saxon King of Wessex, was chosen as 'King of all the English'. In 1017, Canute, the Danish King, became king of the whole country..."[5].

Finally, the textbooks point out that terrain was a positive factor in the formation of this nation through the causal locus of advantage. This locus is employed as a strategy of positive presentation (of land) and can be summed up in the rationalisation that because land was fertile to farming, these folks invaded and settled in England. This argument can be deduced from the following utterance where the designation 'European neighbours' refers to these peoples: "England's rich soil is good for farming, which helps to explain why it was

often invaded by its European neighbours"[6]. In the context of the Norman Conquest (see below), this designation connotes metonymically the Normans and expresses the causal locus of disadvantage, which can be paraphrased as follows: because terrain was rich and favourable to farming, the Normans conquered England. This locus is utilised as a strategy of negative presentation (of land) to emphasise that terrain was a negative factor in shaping the community's history.

Thus, the narration of the Norman Conquest often starts with the racial differentiation of the English from the Normans, explicitly, and from the Welsh, Scots and Irish, implicitly. "The English of 1066 were descended from the Anglo-Saxons, who had invaded Britain 600 years before, and the Vikings, or Danes, who had settled after that – mainly in the north and east"[7]. Similarly, another textbook writes: "[t]he English, or Anglo-Saxons, came from the continent of Europe and began settling in Britain in the fifth century... They were later joined by viking (*sic*) invaders"[8].

7.4 The narrative strand of constitutional development

The central motif of this strand is the continuous and cumulative growth of, firstly, the English, and then, the British constitution. This narrative starts with the Norman Conquest, a stage that is implicitly ascribed the quality of an interruption to constitutional evolution, and then revolves around a series of sequentially arranged change-stages. Examples of these stages are Magna Carta, the beginning of Parliament, the Peasants' Revolt, the Civil War, the Great Reform Act or the Glorious Revolution, each broadening out from precedent to precedent and leading to greater and greater degrees of liberty, equality, democracy and justice. It follows that the setting of this narrative is England first and then Britain.

Contact with the Normans as heteronomy and oppression

Alongside a focus on difference between the English 'self' and the Norman 'other', the textbooks often adopt three other strategies to construct their contact[9]. The first is the strategy of emphasising heteronomy intended to define the nature of contact as political subjection and suppression of liberties. Second, there is the utilisation of the strategy of

negative presentation (of the 'others' and 'our' condition) with the aim of pointing out 'their' oppressions and 'our' sufferings. The third is the strategy of justifying 'our' negative actions against 'them' designed to present these actions as reaction to circumstances brought by 'them'. All four strategies are evident in the quote below:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'The Conquest completed', textbook MR2):
The English were harshly treated by their foreign masters. Soldiers stole and damaged property. Cruel and unjust acts often went unpunished. Houses in many towns were knocked down, and families made homeless, to clear the way for castle-building. Not surprisingly, the King and his barons soon faced rebellions in several parts of the kingdom[10].

Heteronomy is realised here through the noun 'conquest', generating inferences of enforced and illegitimate control over the native in-group by the foreign out-group. The message of subjection is also evident in group labels: the out-group is worded as 'masters', and the in-group, by implication, as slaves. Elsewhere, the out-group are frequently addressed as "French-speaking Normans", "foreigners", "invaders", "kings", "nobles", "barons" and "bishops", and the first Norman king as "William the Conqueror" and "master of England". In contrast, the in-group are frequently lexicalised as "the English", "the conquered Anglo-Saxons", "ordinary peasants", "the wretched" or "humble people", "subjects", and "labourers". These references serve as devices both of constituting two unified groups in terms of race, language, power, class and relationship with land, and of distinguishing these groups by insinuating a symbolic boundary between a foreign, Norman, French-speaking and upper class group of rulers and a local, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking and ruled group embodying the common people.

This frontier, and the message of oppression and suffering, is reinforced by ascribing negative predications to the out-group's rule and to the in-group's condition, which tends to be seen as the result of this rule. In the above extract, the projection of guilt for 'our' abject situation onto 'them' is manifested in passive mood: 'the English were harshly treated by their masters'. The adverb 'harshly' functions to negatively qualify 'their' rule and 'our' condition. The 'other', as the agent of actions, stole and damaged property, did cruel and unjust acts, knocked down houses, making families homeless. Conversely, the 'self' are positioned as the recipients of all sort of "terrible things".

Another linguistic clue in the above excerpt – 'not surprisingly' – highlights the locus of obligation to re-act used to depict local 'rebellions' as reaction to harsh rule and bad living conditions. The effect of the usage of this *topos* is not only the positive portrayal of the 'self' through either the victim-victimiser reversal (not 'they', but 'we' are the victims) or shift of blame (not 'us' but 'they' are guilty for 'our' negative actions) but also the evocation of the 'self' as a courageous *habitus* struggling against Norman tyranny for a better treatment.

At the same time, textbook MR2 constitutes for the readers an alternative reading of the Norman period through the figure of King William. "His admirers remembered him for his courage, determination and devotion to the Christian Church (Source 12). Many others thought him hard, cruel and greedy (Source 13)"[11]. Although the positive perspective on the Norman rule is not dominant in school histories, it serves to mitigate the illocutionary force of the view of 'their' oppression and 'our' suffering and its persuasive impact, and to create some space for readership to decide about and construct their own understanding of this era. The occurrence of both interpretations of this historical period is a manifestation and consequence of the new history textbook genre. According to this genre, history is a contested field, school historians are not carriers of historical truth but facilitators of the learner's investigation of the past from a range of perspectives, and pupils are creators of their own understanding of the past through a process of seeing both sides, weighing things up and adjudicating.

Magna Carta as beneficial to 'all' or only to 'some'?

This act is often accorded positive connotations via the locus of usefulness which can be stated as follows: Magna Carta was beneficial to all English people. This *topos* is implicitly embedded in the following extract from textbook MR2: "Magna Carta helped to make future kings and governments rule more fairly and it became part of the law of the land"[12]. To this view, textbook MR1 adds a universal dimension. It was not only an act to the advantage of 'us', the English, but also to the benefit of 'them', the rest of the world. This is accomplished by drawing analogies between Magna Carta and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights[13]. These parallelisms can be seen as realising a singularisation strategy intended to portray this act as a symbol of English uniqueness.

England was the prototype in the struggle for liberty and fairer government against autocratic rule.

A closer look in the textbooks shows that Magna Carta is also associated with the locus of beneficial to 'some', namely, 'all freemen', especially 'the barons', but not to 'others', that is, 'villeins' (the ordinary peasants). This locus is deployed as a trivialisation strategy with the aim of stressing the unequal distribution of liberties granted by this act and is illustrated with the following excerpt: "Magna Carta... was granted to all freemen of the realm (not villeins), but the barons gained most from it"[14].

The two opposing arguments – the *topos* of beneficial to 'us' and 'them', and the *topos* of favourable only to 'some' – generate a sort of ambivalence in national identity construction. This ambivalence stems from the fact that meanings from two different historiographical discourses are articulated together in textbooks. The Whig interpretation of history that reads Magna Carta as the foundation of the liberties of the English people and its subsequent critique by post-war academic historiography that sees Magna Carta instead as the foundation of the rights of only the higher social ranks[15]. This co-articulation of historical paradigms is clearer in the following two statements, in which textbook writers overtly favour the post-war reading of this act:

1. People in later ages often saw rights and freedoms in the Charter which had not been intended at the time.
2. c. Nowadays people often remember Magna Carta as a charter that laid down the rights of ordinary people. (i) Why is that wrong? (ii) Why do you think people made that mistake?[16]

Underpinning these two utterances is a transformation strategy which is made possible to occur because of a belief that history is just an interpretation of the past which is never definitive but shifts in light of new historical evidence. The use of this strategy aims at advancing the reading of Magna Carta as beneficial to 'some' at the expense of the view that it was useful to 'all'. This is conveyed via disparagement, by assigning to people who interpreted the Charter in later ages a deficiency of seeing rights and freedoms which had not been intended at the time; and, by ascribing to the way nowadays people remember Magna Carta – as a charter that laid down the rights of ordinary people – the negative

qualities of wrong and mistake. Instead, textbooks tend to depict the Peasants' Revolt as the beginnings of freedom for the common people.

The establishment of Parliament as a shift to democracy

The parliamentary origins are placed in the thirteen century in the summoning of knights and burgesses, the Commons, to the King's Great Council of barons and bishops, the Lords[17]. This is designated as "the beginning of Parliament", an event that "did change English history". Although histories avoid explaining explicitly how it did so, the reader is rendered this implicitly by certain vocabulary choices. Consider the excerpt below:

EXTRACT 1 (in the chapter titled 'Magna Carta and the beginning of Parliament', textbook MR2):

To gain wider support, Simon held a Great Council in January 1265 to which he invited not only the nobles who supported him but also people to represent ordinary freemen. Each county was asked to elect two knights, and towns that were on his side each chose two burgesses (citizens). Never before had knights and townsmen joined the barons and bishops to discuss the government of the realm…

Many people were sorry he [Simon] was dead. They had hoped he would bring about a fairer government…

Even so, he [Edward I] wanted to rule with the help and agreement of his subject. He copied Simon's idea and from time to time invited knights and burgesses to join his Council of nobles[18].

By means of the locus of difference manifested in the adverb 'never before', this piece of text generates two different periods in terms of governing practices, the period prior to parliament and the epoch marked by 'the beginning of Parliament'. The governing practices of this second time are lexicalised by a vocabulary which carries connotations of popular representation: 'to represent', 'to elect', 'chose' 'to discuss the government of the realm', 'to rule with the help and agreement'. By implication, the period prior to parliament is marked by the absence of these practices – the deictic 'never before' also expresses the locus of contrast. Both loci are used here as a transformation strategy designed to suggest that the beginning of Parliament was a shift from royal absolutism to popular democracy.

The first phase of constitutional evolution: English monarchy vs. English parliament

In the above quote, the adverb 'from time to time' underlines a tendency in textbooks to project that the unwritten and unplanned constitution was imperfect in its early

form. Often, this proposition is expressed via a strategy of devaluating the constitution and its continuity and positively connoting its change and improvement. Consider this excerpt:

EXTRACT 1 (from the introduction of the chapter titled 'Tudor government', textbook MUK3):

Today it is Parliament that governs the country. The monarch has little say in government. Members of Parliament are elected. The political party which wins most seats in parliament forms the government.
In 1500 the situation was very different. Only the monarch had the right to rule. Parliament only met when the monarch instructed it to do so. It only discussed those matters which the monarch ordered it to discuss.
During the reigns of the Tudor monarchs Parliament began to flex its muscles and grow stronger. As Parliament became stronger, the monarch became weaker[19].

In this passage, elements of temporal deixis ('in 1500' and 'today') are manifestations of the locus of difference which projects two different constitutional periods. The first is the medieval period where the constitution is negatively portrayed through the adverb 'only', functioning to establish certain constitutional imperfections – 'only the monarch had the right to rule', 'Parliament only met when the monarch instructed it to do so', and 'it only discussed those matters which the monarch ordered it to discuss'. These utterances specify the essence of the imperfect character of the medieval constitution: the role of Parliament in governing the realm was less important than that of and limited by the Crown. The second epoch is the present day where the constitution is positively depicted by comparing it with the medieval one. As Hodge & Kress remark, "negative forms must be interpreted in terms of an underlying positive form"[20]. This excerpt also highlights that the present day and parliamentary democracy are depicted in school stories as the ultimate stage of constitutional evolution and the in-group's common present.

Also implicit in this extract is the gap between '1500' and 'today' which represents the period of improvement and its essence laying in the gradual transfer of powers from monarchy to parliament. This meaning is conveyed through personification. 'Parliament began to flex its muscles and grow stronger', a phrase encoding the growth of parliamentary powers in running the realm. The conjunction 'as' further enacts a relation of dependence: 'as Parliament became stronger, the monarch became weaker'. This expression signifies the diminishing role of the Crown in administration and the shift of its powers to Parliament. That this transfer was a gradual process is inferred from the verb 'began' that denotes a process that is starting. The outcome of this process, as textbook MUK2 puts it, was: "...

Parliament, the occasional adviser of the king in 1500, became his master after the 1688 Revolution"[21].

The Whiggist idea of continuity-in-change is implicitly embedded in the personification of parliament and monarchy. This concept draws attention to the two strategies that are often employed in constituting improvement – the strategy of transformation that intends to stress differences between parliament and monarchy in government in-between successive periods and the continuity strategy which aims at stressing similarities in their governing role between successive epochs. This is exemplified with just one example:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'Parliament grows more important', textbook MUK4):

Money: Elizabeth I was short of money, and things got worst for under James I and Charles I. They had to ask Parliament more often for extra money…
The House of Commons was more important. MPs chose their Speaker; he decided who should speak and what should be discussed. Tudor Speakers were careful to please the crown, but Speakers became more independent under the Stuarts…
BUT the king still • made all important decisions • chose his ministers • decided when to summon and dismiss Parliament[22].

To bring differences between successive periods to the fore, this passage employs the locus of difference, manifested in comparisons – 'they had to ask Parliament more often for extra taxes', 'speakers became more independent under the Stuarts', 'the House of Commons was more important'. The effect of comparisons is to articulate the growing role of parliament in government and the diminishing role of monarchy.

To emphasise similarities between successive periods, this passage relies on the locus of similarity. This is expressed through the adverb 'still' suggesting that the Crown still had a key role to play in government and parliament a limited one. It is reinforced by the conjunction 'but', conveying the message that, despite the parliament's growing influence in government, monarchy maintained its primary role. The combination of continuity and change serves as a discursive device assigning a gradual character to constitutional improvement by creating space for further development every time certain changes occur.

Frequently, a finite set of positive prejudices against the English are embedded in the representation of constitutional evolution. These biases are manifestations of positive 'self'-presentation strategy and serve to generate a notion of a typical English *habitus* characterised by the qualities of hatred towards autocratic rule and love for democracy, respect for order, authority and the rule of law, commitment to justice and peace, and tolerance. Consider a few utterances with such prejudiced contents: "[p]eople expected the Crown to make laws, to keep law and order and give out justice..."; "[a]lthough people put up with Cromwell's rule, they disliked it because it was based on force (source 14), not on agreement"; and, "...England is the one where public affairs are best conducted and regulated with least violence to the people" (Source 7 by Philippe de Commynes, 1500)[23].

The second phase of evolution: British parliament vs. British people

Unlike the first phase where the constitution is held to be improved by the transfer of powers from monarchy to parliament and which alludes to Whig historicity, improvement in this second phase is conceptualised as the inclusion of various social groups into parliamentary rule and the establishment of equality between regions and nationalities, both leading to a fairer and more inclusive constitution. Often, the articulation of this message is the conclusion from argumentation consisting of four explicit or inferable causal loci:

- the constitution was imperfect because of inequalities in the distribution of parliamentary seats in terms of region and because of the exclusion of groups on the basis of class, gender and religion;
- because the constitution was flawed, people were discontented and protested;
- due to discontent and protest, reforms were carried out;
- because certain reforms were made, the constitution became fairer and more equal;
- despite changes, there was room for further reform and constitutional development.

These argumentative patterns, which are drawn on from radical, socialist and feminist post-war academic historiography[24], can be seen in the extract below:

EXTRACT 1 (from the introduction of the chapter titled 'Parliament and Protest', textbook ETI1):
Many people came to believe that Members of Parliament were out of touch with their needs. Part 7 is about how Parliament itself was changed as a result of this discontent, and how various groups continued to protest because they believed the changes did not go far enough[25].

To render improvement meaningful, this second phase also tends to begin with the devaluation of the constitution, and its continuity, and the positive connotation of its change. Here, this is expressed by the negatively connoted metaphors 'out of touch'. This serves to portray the constitutional rule deprecatorily by declaring it as obsolete on the grounds of class, gender and religion, and by implication, to insinuate a necessity to change it. The criteria for exclusion are best captured in the utterances below:

- Britain was far from being a 'democracy' with voting rights for all.
- Women could not vote at all.
- The Irish Catholic in Ireland and Catholics in Britain...had no representation in any Parliament.
- Yet the policies of the main parties, Liberal and Conservative, still favoured the better-off.

Thus, being faced with an imperfect constitution, various groups were displeased and engaged in a process to bring about changes. One of the main linguistic means used to convey the locus of discontent and protest is a certain wording – e.g. 'disappointment', 'petition(s)', 'mass public meetings all over Britain', 'big demonstration(s)', 'uprising(s)', 'popular unrest', 'movement(s)', 'fierce struggles', 'campaigns'. The analysis of referential labels reveals the identity of the discontented groups. These are "the industrial middle classes", "discontented working people", "poor people, the unemployed and the sick", "the majority of men and all women", "the Irish Catholics in Ireland and Catholics in Britain".

As a result of this discontent and protest, extract one further stresses, Parliament itself was changed (the locus of difference). Side by side with change, there is focus on continuity. Strategically, this emphasis aims to articulate and justify a necessity for further reform by foregrounding the persistence of exclusion and inequality and the continuous protest for further changes. In the above extract, this is evident in the phrase 'changes did not go far enough' and the verb 'to continue'. In the textbooks, it is often realised by the adverb 'still' as in the statement that "[t]he great majority of men and women in Britain still

had no right to vote"[26]. The effect of the combination of continuation and transformation strategies is to evoke an image of the modern past as the continuous constitutional progress.

Implicitly attached to the evoked idea of a British civil society consisting of different social groups, each with its own specific interests and needs, is the notion of a British *habitus* which more or less shares the same features with the English *habitus*: Britons were committed to democratic rule and stood up for social justice and political equality irrespective of gender, social class and religion; and they respected the rule of law and wished to expand liberties by constitutional rather than violent means. This stereotype is also reinforced by differentiation from and superiority over the French, seen as afflicted with absolutism, misrule and violent revolution. Consider a few prejudiced *clichés* against the French 'other':

- The kings of France, who had total power and ruled without parliament, were always looking to drive the British out of their trading posts;
- The cost of the war increased France's already massive debts and there was growing criticism of the king's extravagance and misrule;
- It seemed that the French were about to gain freedoms the British already took for granted"[27].

Apart from allusions to the eighteenth century stereotype of undemocratic French, these utterances indicate ambivalence in national identity construction. On the one hand, negative prejudices are often articulated through simple past or past continuous as truth (statements one and two). This sort of articulation is aimed at emotionally and cognitively engaging readers and expresses the writers' involvement in nationalist biased discourse. On the other, prejudiced content tends to be mitigated, for example, in statement three by means of the particle 'seem'. This particle is an indicator of distance between authorship and nationalist discourse and also reduces its persuasive impact on readership by creating some space for meaning negotiation.

7.5 The narrative strand of expansionism

This strand is concerned with the story of the expansion of the English state in the Isles and of the British state in the world. The setting of the first aspect of this narrative is the British Isles and its major actors are the non-British 'others' (Scotland, Wales and

Ireland) and the English 'self'. The setting of the second aspect is the globe and its main actors are now the British 'self' and a range of colonised 'others'.

The political expansion of England in the British Isles

This theme is extracted from the textbook chapters dealing with England's relations with Scotland, Wales and Ireland[28]. A transformation strategy in combination with strategies of emphasising autonomy and unity are often utilised to construct it. Consider the excerpt below:

EXTRACT 1 (from the introduction of the chapter titled 'Uniting the Kingdoms', textbook MUK3):

The United Kingdom today is made up of four countries: England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Before the time of the Tudor monarchs these were all independent countries apart from Wales. Wales had been conquered by England in the 13th century.

Scotland, on the other hand, had defeated the English at the battle of Bannockburn (1314) and had kept its independence, with its own monarch.

The English attempted to hold on to Ireland but their efforts met with little success. By the time of the Tudors, they had only managed to keep a toe-hold in Ireland in the area surrounding Dublin, known as the 'Pale'.

By 1750 the situation was very different. Scotland, Ireland and Wales were under the political control of England[29].

This passage relies on the comparative locus of difference to suggest the expansionist thesis. This evokes two different temporalities in terms of the political status of the four countries. The first is the period prior to the thirteenth century where all these countries were independent – an expression that denotes autonomy. In the second epoch, the political status of the four countries was 'very different'. 'Scotland, Ireland and Wales were under the political control of England', a phrase signifying unification. By implication, the gap separating the two periods represents the time of English political expansion which is construed as a gradual process of change from separation to integration under the tie of the English state.

Several implied meanings that underlie this topic can be deduced from this excerpt. The title's '-ing' form is an inference triggering device drawing the reader's attention to a process – that of 'Uniting the Kingdoms'. The closing remark of the main text equates this process with the incorporation of Wales, Scotland and Ireland into the English state. This

means that the authors implicitly assign the agency of the making of the UK to the English and carries out an equation of England and the UK. Implicit are also the exclusion of the other isles peoples from this process and a hierarchical view of the UK in which the English occupied the eminent place. These assumptions about the nature of the British state and its making function to reproduce the traditional idea of the English overlordship of the Isles and the historical conflation of England and Britain.

The expansionist thesis is also articulated by a specific vocabulary that tends to be used repeatedly in textbooks to lexicalise the in- and out-groups, as well as their actions:

Table Two. Lexicalisation of the main actors and their acts in the sub-strand of expansion within the British Isles

'we' are addressed as...	**'they' are referred to as...**
- England and the English - the richest, strongest and largest nation/country - masters, overlords, government, crown - settlers (in relation to Wales and Ireland)	- Wales, Scotland, Ireland and the Welsh, Scots, Irish - the weaker neighbours/nations - rebels, outlaws, offenders - natives - foreigners, foreign countries
'we'...	**'they'...**
- conquer - dominate - rule - control - increase power – extend control - establish law and order - punish - interfere - colonise (Wales and Ireland)	- are conquered and occupied - do homage to 'us' - resent rule - rise against rule - resist - stand up to 'us' - defy - invite 'us' to help solve 'their' problems - defeat 'us' and keep 'their' independence (Scotland)
'we' are involved in...	**'they' are engaged in...**
- invasions, conquests, expeditions, plantations, colonisation	- risings, rebellions, uprisings, revolts

As illustrated in the table above, two strategies are used to construct and represent the actors of this strand. First, there is the assimilation strategy functioning to constitute linguistically groups of actors. It is apparent within each column, the usage of such group labels as 'English', 'Scots', 'Irish' and other collective references that homogenise persons by depicting them as engaging in similar actions and as sharing the same features. Second, there is the dissimilation strategy realised by associating explicitly and implicitly the unified

actors with different and contrasting types of actions, and by explicit and implicit opposites. Through this strategy, the othering of the non-English nations in the Isles is achieved by insinuating a symbolic boundary between an English world of domination and a non-English world of subordination. It also functions as a means for texturing a reading position through which the past can be interpreted as the expansion of the English in the Isles.

The neighbouring 'others' as a threat to 'us'

The critical reading of the textbooks reveals a tendency to construct and represent the English as being in danger from the Scots, Welsh and Irish – as the endangered majority in the British Isles. Strategically, this argumentative scheme is often deployed to justify expansionism and, as the excerpt below illustrates, tends to be realised by fictitious scenarios and stories:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'England's fears', textbook MUK3):

Everyone needs good neighbours. But supposing your neighbours are like the Armstrongs in the Focus. How can you hit back if they can find safety over the border? If you take an army to chase them then you are guilty of invading a foreign country and that means war.

England was the most powerful nation in the British Isles. Nevertheless she feared that her neighbours' countries could be used to shelter her enemies and as a base for invasion.

It was this fear, and the desire for greater wealth, that led England to seek political control over her neighbours[30].

In this extract, the noun 'fears' and its derivatives generate a scenario of threat involving three anthropomorphised actors: 'England', 'her neighbours' (Scotland, Ireland and Wales), and 'her enemies' (France and Spain). According to this scenario, the 'self' was in danger from all these 'others'. Two lexical choices uncover the nature of this danger. The first is the military term 'invasion' that implicitly suggests that England's autonomy was under threat by her enemies. The second is the verb 'to shelter' which depicts her neighbours as conspirators because they could offer protection to her enemies in a possible invasion. England was then obliged to 'do' something against this danger, to seek political control over her neighbours in order "to stop enemies in Europe...using them as allies"[31].

This scenario is also discernible in the house metaphor triggered by depicting Wales, Ireland and Scotland as "three back doors which the English could never quite manage to

keep securely locked"[32]. This metaphor symbolises the in-group's land as a house and the territories of the neighbouring out-groups as its 'three back doors', a term which connotes threat. The in-group themselves are implied as the house's owners who could only prevent danger by keeping the doors securely locked. This symbolism is open to several readings as far as the nature of danger is concerned. One reading inferred from the above discussion is that the doors could be used by 'enemies in Europe' to sneak in the house and cause trouble to 'our' autonomy. Another possible reading is that the neighbouring 'others' *per se* could use them and cause trouble to 'our' survival and welfare. Indeed, the analysis reveals that textbooks employ a range of stories about English victimisation by non-English British "troublemakers", "thieves" and "murderers".

Stories and scenarios about threatening neighbours are used for illustration and proof of the necessity to 'do' something against 'them' in order to justify expansionism. They can be also seen as expressing a different type of justification strategies, namely, the victim-victimiser reversal as a particular strategy of shifting blame and responsibility: not 'we', but 'they' are to blame for expansion because not 'they', but 'we', were in danger; thus, not 'they', but 'we', were the victim. The justification of expansion is also achieved through the unbalanced presentation of content. That is, a detailed presentation of 'their' threat to 'us' vs. a brief reference to 'our' desire for greater wealth (see extract one above).

To render the threat meaningful, the textbooks presuppose and constitute difference between the in-group and the 'neighbours', and similarity in-between the neighbours and between them and the in-group's 'enemies in Europe'. Difference is embedded in group-constitutive labels (see Table Two). It is also explicit in such utterances as the following one: "The English, Welsh, Scots and Irish were independent peoples, each with their own culture, language and history"[33]. Similarity between the Scots, Welsh and Irish is apparent in such label as 'neighbours' and 'foreigners', as well as in an assumed common Celtic descent and culture which makes possible "a Celtic alliance against the English"[34]. Similarity between the Celts and other Europeans is evident in the term 'allies'. Catholic faith is also a criterion for Ireland's sameness with Spain and France, and monarchy between Scotland and France. The claim of this argumentation pattern can be summed up as follows: because the descent, culture and history of the neighbouring 'others' is as it is, that

is different from 'us' and similar to each other and to continental 'others', certain threats arise in specific contexts.

The neighbouring 'others' as backward and uncivilised

There is a second argumentative move to legitimate expansion – the depiction of the neighbours as 'backward' and 'uncivilised'. This is frequently accomplished through the use of prejudiced negative predications which function as justifying devices for action against the 'others' by the 'self'. Consider a few utterances with such contents:

The Irish:

1. To most people in Europe, the Irish were a backward and quarrelsome people.
2. The Irish live like beasts, are more uncivil, more uncleanly, more barbarous in their customs than in any part of the world. (Source 4E: an Englishman reporting in Elizabeth I's reign).

The Scots:

3. ...the English still thought of Scots as foreigners, living in a poor and uncivilised land.
4. Poor country folk were generally even worse off in Scotland and Ireland than in England.

The Welsh:

5. They were hardy, warlike folk who fought and stole from each other and from the English.
6. They do not live in towns, villages or castles, but lead a solitary existence, deep in the woods... They pay no attention to commerce, shipping or industry, and their only pre-occupation is military training. (Source 8: Gerald of Wales, The description of Wales, 1194)[35].

Two strategies are used to project the image of the 'others' as 'backward' and 'uncivilised' – homogenisation and negative depiction of 'others'. The constitution of 'them' as unified entities is achieved through the pronoun 'they', collective nouns like 'folk' and 'people', group labels such as 'the Scots', and metonymies of the type country for people such as 'Scotland', 'Ireland' and 'Wales'. At the same time, these unified groups are assigned a set of negative attributes by means of derogatory wording (e.g. 'backward'), implicit and explicit comparisons, and negations (e.g. 'no attention to commerce, shipping or industry').

The stereotypical reading of 'others' is constructed in three distinct modes according to the degree of directness. The first is directly expressed prejudice by the writers who claim to convey a generalised truth (statements four and five). The second mode is indirect reporting of stereotypes (statements one and three). The third is direct reporting via citation of stereotypes (statements two and six). Indirect and direct reporting are markers of

detachment. Writers are not those who conceive and create the prejudices but those who just reproduce them and they are not to be blamed. The application of reporting minimises the persuasive impact of biased content on readers. Yet, the very citation of the prejudices, Reisigl and Wodak point out, can have the effect that the strong connotations gather momentum in the mind of the reader and drown that these are mitigated by reporting[36].

Fairclough notes that in cases of direct and indirect reporting, the textbook authors have a choice regarding the manner in which they can frame the stereotypes[37]. For example, in statement three, the reported prejudices are framed as "biased and unpleasant" and as "the hostile attitudes of many English people"[38]. This disparaging framing expressed through negative predications ascribed to past attitudes can be seen as a strategic effort to transform English attitudes towards the Scots into tolerant, unbiased and friendly ones for the present and future: the Scots were neither poor nor uncivilised people. The use of this strategy, and of direct and indirect reporting, is made possible by the genre of new history textbook. However, the mixing of the modes in which prejudices are expressed in school histories, as truth or opinion, is a reflection of the merged textbook genre which draws upon both traditional and new history – and a major source of ambivalence in them.

The textual reading of the neighbouring 'others' as backward is also exemplified and reinforced by visual representations. In textbook MUK3, for instance, the account of the 1707 union is illustrated by an eighteenth-century caricature presenting a Scot in a toilet with a caption stating: "[a] Scotsman having problems with a toilet in London"[39]. The visual image of an annoyed Scotsman as he is unable to work out how to use the toilet and the ironic phrase 'having problems' serves to multimodally generate a reading of the Scots as uncivilised – relative always to the English norms. The same textbook also employs two sixteenth-century paintings from Derrick entitled "The Image of Ireland" to further convey the message of the allegedly backwardness of the Irish[40]. The first describes the daily life of a clan in a remote, barren, woody wilderness, with persons cooking and warming up themselves over camp-fires, and with swords, shields, and other materials scattered all over the place. The second shows this clan coming out of the forest to plunder and burn an English village in the Pale taking with them, back into the woods, cattle and horses. The negatively-connoted image evoked here is projected to all the Irish through the toponym 'Ireland'. This toponym functions both as a metonymy, with country standing for the

population of the country, and as a generalising synecdoche with some persons standing for the whole group.

These negative prejudices against the neighbouring 'others' imply a bundle of positive prejudices attributed to an English national *habitus* and its non Gaelic way of life: the English were a progressive, civilised, rational, restrained and rich people with good manners; 'we' did not live in the woods but in towns, villages, and castles; 'we' disliked violence and did not steal from neither each other nor 'our' neighbours; 'we' respected law, order and authority; and 'we' thrived on commerce and industry.

The origins and formation of the British state-nation

Unlike textbook MUK3 which is inclined towards the construal of the British state as an extension of the English state and an English invention, two other textbooks tend to articulate a reading position through which the UK is seen as a new, partnership entity invented by both the English and Scots. This position is visually constructed in textbook MUK1 by showing how the English flag with the St. George's cross and the Scottish flag with St. Andrew's cross were combined to make "[t]he Union Jack of 1707"[41]. Both this caption, especially the particle 'of 1707' implying that there is at least another version of this flag, and the encouragement of the reader to find "the differences between this flag and the one used today" highlight an attempt to include (Northern) Ireland as a partner in the UK. But, at both levels, the visual and the linguistic, Wales is excluded.

The tendency to exclude Wales from representations of state-formation and the view that this state was a partnership entity is backed by argumentation, notably the locus of union as beneficial to all. This locus can be found in the following excerpt taken from book MUK2: "[d]espite all the threats, both sides stood to gain from a closer relationship. Union would make England safer in time of war. It would benefit the whole of Scotland and make many Scottish gentlemen wealthy"[42]. It is also apparent in textbook MUK1: "... early in the eighteenth century, the Scots and the English found they needed important things from each other. The only way to get what they wanted was to negotiate a Treaty of Union"[43].

In its account of the making of the British state, textbook MUK4 puts forward the proposition of a common nationality between the English, Scots, Welsh and Irish which is based on the civic conception of the nation and which followed their fusion into a single state. "Nationality: By 1750, the four separate nations in Britain – Scots, English, Welsh and Irish – were one united kingdom"[44]. This notion of a British state-nation, that the founding of the state preceded the formation of the nation, is better exemplified and further explained in this quote: "Britain was now a united kingdom – accepted reluctantly by the Scots and the Welsh, and forced on the Irish. But at least it was not a bad idea that all four nations kept their identity and culture, and perhaps some people began to feel 'British' "[45]. Here, three defining characteristics of the British nation are introduced – an emotional attachment to the emerging nation by 'some people' (implying of English origins) (the degree of certainty of this proposed feature is however mitigated by the particle 'perhaps'); an unwillingness of many others inhabiting Britain (mainly of Scottish, Irish and Welsh origins) to identify with it; and its multinational or supranational character.

Similarly, textbook MUK3 identifies the epoch between 1500 and 1750 as the "time that made the nation we know today"[46]. Temporal deixis, here, points out the continuity of the British nation since that period and the pronoun 'we' highlights that the writers and readers are among the witnesses of its existence 'today'. Membership is promoted through a picture of a British passport which occurs side by side with the above utterance. This picture carries out another function: it adds citizenship to the definition of British nationality. Elsewhere, the same textbook expands this definition by stressing British uniqueness and superiority in terms of political power: by 1750, "the United Kingdom was the most powerful nation in the world".

The imperial expansion of Britain

This topic of expansion was extracted from the chapters dealing with the British Empire and trade[47]. For its construction, the writers rely on three strategies – a transformation strategy that aims at articulating a reading of the past as the growth of Britons as an imperial nation; a strategy of positive 'self'-presentation deployed to conceal British aggression against colonised peoples; and a singularisation strategy with the goal of

stressing the superiority of the British over other European and non-European peoples. Consider two examples:

EXTRACT 1 (from the introduction of the chapter titled 'Trade and Empire', textbook ETI1):

In 1750 the British also ruled many of the territories with which they traded. Many of these colonies started in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as settlements of British merchants, or of people looking for a new life abroad. After 1750 the territories ruled by Britain grew until they included about a quarter of the world's land and a fifth of its population[48].

EXTRACT 2 (from the section called 'Trade, wealth and power', textbook MUK3):

In the race for overseas trade Britain had to compete with Spain, France and Holland. The result was the Britain became involved in wars with all these countries. By the mid-18th century she had emerged the clear winner. With this achievement came the prize of empire[49].

Through the comparative locus of difference, extract one invokes a process of British growth in terms of overseas political power and territorial possessions. Its origins are located in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, implying that the English were the initiators of the British Empire. This claim is overtly stated in textbook MUK3 where its origins are metaphorised as "the first few steps taken by Elizabethan sailors on the path to Britain's empire"[50]. The growth of power and possessions with the passage of time is often denoted by euphemistic vocabulary choices such as 'grew', 'took over', 'extended control', 'growth', 'expansion', 'settlements', 'explorations' – instead of derogatory choices such as invasion and occupation.

The outcome of this process was the creation of "the largest Empire the world had ever known" and "the Empire on which the sun never sets"[51]. These entrenched *clichés* of imperial nationalist discourse are manifestations of perceived British superiority over other modern and ancient peoples. The evoked image of the 'self' as the conquerors of the world is visually realised as well. The front cover of textbook ETI3, for instance, is a map of the late nineteenth century world that features at its centre the classical female figure of Britannia armed with a Union Jack shield, trident and helmet. She is portrayed as a seated figure on the world carried on the backs of Atlas and is surrounded by various other figures of different race, colour, gender and ethnicity from all over the world, all gazing at her in admiration and envy. This personification also symbolises the unity of the British nation and reproduces the nineteenth century view that Britons were the heirs of the glories of classical Greece and Rome with their associations of liberty, maritime supremacy and imperial fate.

In the second extract, the emphasis on transformation, superiority and positive 'self'-representation is encapsulated in the 'race' metaphor. This personifies Britain as a runner who takes part in a race and emerges as 'the clear winner'. This is an achievement and she deserves 'the prize of empire'. What underlies this symbolism is an evocation of the hierarchical order of the world in which the in-group occupied a pre-eminent place among the European nations, and those conquered and subject to colonial rule followed in various degrees of alleged inferiority.

The making of three distinctive groups of actors, the 'self', and the European and the colonised 'others', are also manifested in group labels and predications. The most frequent ones that are used to denote the in- and out-groups and to assign to them positive or negative traits are presented in Table Three below.

Table Three. The representation of the main actors in the sub-strand of imperial expansion

'they' are worded as...	**'we' are referred to as...**	**'they' are addressed as...**
other European countries	Europeans	non-Europeans
enemies, foreign rivals	winners	conquered peoples
France, Spain, etc.	Britain	Africa, India, West Indies, etc.
	the British nation or people	tribes
	Britons abroad	
explorers	missionaries, explorers	
	emigrants, colonists, settlers	natives, aboriginals
imperialists	imperialists, rulers, colonisers	colonised, subject peoples, slaves
	officials, statesmen, administrators	local chiefs, second class citizens
	businessmen, traders, supervisors	workers, servants
	Christians	non-Christian
white races	white race, whites	black people, blacks, negros
civilised	civilised	uncivilised, backward, primitive, savages, lazy, murderers, poor, thieves, of childlike intelligence
superior	superior	inferior

This table shows that two discursive strategies tend to be employed to construct and represent the three actors. First, there is the assimilation strategy, serving the objective of constituting three unified groups by depicting them as engaging in similar actions and sharing the same qualities. In columns one and two, it also carries out the function of placing the in-group within Europe by emphasising similarities between them and other Europeans. Second, there is the strategy of dissimilation in columns two and three that is

mostly expressed by explicit or implicit referential opposites. Through this strategy, the distinction between the imperial 'self' and the colonised 'others' is created by insinuating a symbolic frontier between a superior British world of civilisation, Christianity, whiteness and power, and a non-British world of subjugation, racial and religious inferiority, backwardness and savagery. This strategy is also evident in columns one and two. Here, it functions to stress cultural differences between the British 'self' and the European 'other', and rivalry between them for global domination.

The biased negative traits predicated to the colonised 'others', notably to black peoples, "the less white, the more inferior", writes source B of textbook ETI3[52], are often expressed by indirect and direct reporting. This means that the textbook authors have choice of how to frame the reported prejudices. In framing the biased contents, they tend to combine deconstructive and constructive strategies which aim at transforming the attitudes of the British *habitus* towards other peoples. This is apparent in the following excerpt:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'Attitudes towards native peoples', textbook ETI1):
When the British came across native peoples who lived in different ways and held different beliefs they described them as 'uncivilised', and they felt superior to them.
...
SOURCE 5
The intelligence of the average negro is about equal to that of a European child of ten years old.
G.A. Henty, *By Sheer Pluck*, 1884
...
SOURCE 6
Left to their own devices, they retrograde [go backwards] into a state little above their native savagery.
G.A. Henty, *By Sheer Pluck*, 1884
Today we know that all these statements are wrong and some races are not superior to others.
...
SOURCE 7
Britain in its age of power – from the mid-19th century – became racist, though of course with the very best intentions, and would so remain for almost 100 years until the imperial power was spent [came to an end].
Basil Davidson, *Into the Dark Continent*, 1972[53]

Through the locus of difference, this passage projects two different periods in terms of British power and opinions about the 'others'. The first is the age of colonial power and is characterised by the belief that native peoples were uncivilised and inferior. The second is the epoch where imperial power was spent and is marked by the convictions that these

attitudes are 'wrong' and 'some races are not superior to others', and that 'Britain' is not 'racist' anymore. Combined with the use of the pronoun 'we', this emphasis on the belittling and negating of 'our' past beliefs and on discontinuity in 'our' attitudes towards 'them' results in the creation of a British community united by its anti-racist attitudes towards other peoples, notably by the beliefs that the world is not divided into uncivilised and civilised, inferior and superior peoples and that all races are different but equal. Both the writer and reader are positioned as members of this community. This attempt to transform British attitudes through history textbooks is the combined effect of decolonisation and the settlement of non-white peoples in England, the emergence and circulation of post-colonial academic historical narratives and anti-racist discourse in society and education since the 1970s, and the new history paradigm which sees history as a fluid interpretation of the past.

Strategically, the projection of difference in British attitudes between the past and the present also fulfils the task of trivialising the older, negative ones. This is overtly manifested in the 'yes racist, but with the very best intentions' form of argument that has the effect of balancing racist attitudes against good intentions. Elsewhere, trivialisation is expressed by packaging anti-racist behaviour in stories about British colonial officials and explorers who treated natives "with respect and took a lot of trouble to learn about their history", and, by drawing analogies between creations in Britain and the colonies, such as the Royal Pavilion and the Taj Mahal, implying that the British copied natives because they appreciated their art and architecture. Stressing the influences of colonial cultures on the British one also triggers the idea of a British culture as a multi-cultural entity, which is further reinforced by emphasising that many colonial cultural artefacts can be now found in "the British Museum".

The Empire as beneficial to 'us' and 'them', or as disadvantageous to 'them'?

The chapters dealing with imperialism also contain the causal locus of advantage. This is deployed to justify expansion by suggesting that empire was beneficial because it took "the benefits of European civilisation" to the colonised 'others' and because it had positive effects to the British 'self'. An extract exemplifying this view is reproduced below from textbook ETI2. At the same time, it illustrates that this locus is often conveyed as a

universal truth, being based on a view of the writer as an impartial servant of factual knowledge and the reader-pupil as a passive assimilator of facts:

> The empire gave work to farmers, engineers, doctors, soldiers, missionaries and teachers who spent their lives in the colonies. It gave power to the well-to-do, who sent their sons to rule non-Christian lands, convinced that God meant white people to do so. It gave hope to the poor, who left Britain determined to found a fairer, more equal society in a distant land…
>
> The British changed India by building roads, railways and schools. They appointed thousands of civil servants to run the country and set up a cheap postal system and telegraph service. They also tried to put a stop to some Indian customs, particularly *suttee* (the burning of a wife after her husband's death)[54].

This excerpt also highlights that a unification strategy is often embedded in the narration of the Empire's benefits to 'us'. Its aim is to stress that empire offered to all of 'us' irrespective of social class with opportunities, and its effect is the construction of British unity.

When they argue for the benefits of empire to 'them', two other textbooks tend to apply strategies of detachment and deconstruction. Detachment strategies are designed to distance the authors from the represented nationalist *topos* and deconstructive ones and to build up a framing unfavourable to the interpretation that empire was beneficial to 'them'. Often, these strategies are carried out by indirect and direct reporting, and by critically commenting on the reported contents. Their effect on the readers is that they mitigate the persuasive impact of this *topos* and that they generate space for them to negotiate and even reject this *topos* from their national identity. Consider just two examples:

1. They [the British] believed they had a duty to improve the lives of people who did not know about modern technology and did not possess manufactured goods[55] (in a section called 'The benefits of civilisation?', textbook ETI1).
2. According to Queen Victoria the aim of the British Empire was to 'protect the poor natives and to advance civilisation'[56] (in a section titled ' 'Civilising' the world', textbook ETI3).

Here, indirect speech is apparent in statement one – in the clause with 'believe' as a verb of reporting – and direct speech in statement two – in quotes. In textbook ETI3, the verb 'civilise' (in the title) is also framed by speech marks, indicating the author's critical stance towards the idea of civilising 'them'. Similar mood is also evident in textbook ETI1 in the use of question instead of assertion (in the title), implying that empire might have not been useful to 'them'.

Such critical remarks indicate an attempt either to deconstruct how the reader construes the link between 'our' empire and the 'others' or to transfer the responsibility of adjudicating into the readership. In either case, school historians do not provide any new interpretation to replace the disparaged one. Of the two textbooks, only textbook ETI1 tries to do so through the combination of a strategy of emphasising discontinuity and historicising with a strategy of trivialisation. The purpose of combining the two strategies is to transform the older view that empire was favourable to 'them' into a new, mitigated view that empire was not 'necessarily' beneficial to 'them' or that it had 'some' positive effects to 'them'. This point is illustrated by the following fragment of text taken from a section entitled 'Changing interpretations':

> For more than fifty years twentieth-century historians agreed with the nineteenth-century view that the British Empire brought the benefits of European civilisation to native peoples.
> ...
> By the 1970s most countries of the Empire had become independent of Britain, some after bitter wars. British historians no longer looked at the Empire purely from the British or European point of view. A.J.P. Taylor pointed out that British rule did not necessarily benefit the people of the Empire:
> ...
> SOURCE 20
> Anyone who regards industrialisation and pollution and nuclear weapons as evils may regret that they are now spread throughout the world. That is what the British Empire helped to do.
> A.J.P. Taylor, *The Balance Sheet of Empire*, 1973
> ...
> In a school textbook written shortly afterwards, Basil Davidson said the British and other European empires did bring some benefits to Africa:
> ...
> SOURCE 23
> The blessings of European civilisation that were given to Africans during colonial period were few and far between: and they were paid for at a high price.
> Basil Davidson, *Discovering Africa's Past*, 1978[57]

This extract adopts the comparative locus of difference to project two historical understandings of the relationship between the British Empire and native peoples. The first is the nineteenth-century view that empire brought the benefits of European civilisation to 'them', a view that was 'purely' argued from the British or European point of view and was still accepted by twentieth-century historians for more than fifty years. The second is the view that empire did not necessarily benefit 'them' or that it did bring some benefits to 'them'. This view is implied to be argued from a non-British or non-European perspective and has appeared in the 1970s. What links therefore these two interpretations is change and

mitigation, which is in fact a manifestation of post-war historiographical shift in the study of European imperialism. This is indicated here by manifest intertextuality – actual citations from academic work.

A closer look at the quotations chosen to exemplify the new interpretations reveals that a trivialisation strategy is also used both to relativise the negative effects of imperial rule to 'them' and to exonerate the 'self' from responsibility for these. Some of the means realising this strategy are: (a) as it is inferred from 'the British Empire helped to do', negative sameness that has the effect of minimising 'our' guilt for spreading evils to 'them' via co-responsibility; (b) the euphemistic metaphor 'high price' with its function of concealing the responsible actor, instead of saying that 'they' suffered grief due to 'our' actions; or, elsewhere in the textbooks, (c) the exculpating portrayal of the in-group as "fulfilling a duty" and as working with "a sincere devotion" – and many other ways.

Above all, this strategy of trivialisation is expressed through avoidance: the in-group's actions and their results are hardly denoted as exploitation, subjugation, corruption, racism and discrimination. In contrast, these are the strategic emphases which the 'purely' non-British or non-European perspective seeks to fore-ground. In doing so, it articulates a view that empire was disadvantageous to 'us', implicitly entering into a dismantling relationship with the British or European point of view. This locus of disadvantage is deduced from sources, not the main narrative, and serves to de-legitimise the British Empire and to generate a negative image of the British – the 'other' now. Consider two fragments of speeches by J. Nehru:

EXTRACT 1 (from the assessment section called 'Interpretations and sources', textbook ETI2):

India had to bear the cost of her own conquest... Government was also run on a lavish and extravagant scale, all the highly paid positions being reserved for Europeans... Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule and as a direct result of British policy...[58].

EXTRACT 2 (source C from the section titled 'The colonised', textbook ETI3):

Their parliament makes laws for us and their government appoints a Viceroy to rule over us. The British are arrogant, despising our brown skins. Worst of all, the British have kept us poor. Our people toil for slave wages in British-owned cotton mills and on British-owned tea plantations[59].

Here, subjugation is apparent in the phrases 'their parliament makes laws for us' and 'their government appoints a Viceroy to rule over us', and in the noun 'conquest'; racism in the

expression that 'the British despise our brown skins'; discrimination in the statement that 'all the highly paid positions being reserved for Europeans'; exploitation in the utterance that 'our people toil for slave wages', and corruption is expressed by the statement that 'government was also run on a lavish and extravagant scale'. The results of British policies and actions are finally presented as having brought neither benefits nor blessings but 'problems'. Again, here, it is up to the reader to decide how to respond to this reading of British imperial past.

7.6 The narrative strand of Society, Economy and Culture

This narrative strand is perhaps the most fractured and its themes are primarily drawn upon what is frequently called "social history" or "history from below"[60]. Three of its most important narrative fragments are sketched and analysed here: social, economic and cultural changes in the medieval realms of England; the metamorphosis of British economy and society in modern times; and, the manners, customs and everyday life of the people living in medieval and modern times. Hence, the setting of this strand oscillates between England and Britain.

The medieval realms of England – images of the English nation

A closer look at the narration of contact with the Normans shows that heteronomy, the suppression of liberties, and the incorporation of England into a broader European order was only a part of "the tremendous upheaval" brought about by 'the Conquest'. Alongside political change, the Norman advent is presented to have caused changes in society, economy and culture including: the transfer of land from "the English earls" to "the Normans"; the replacement of "English bishops and abbots" with "foreigners"; the re-building of "nearly every English church and cathedral in the Norman style"; "widespread castle-building" which was "scarcely known in England" before the Normans; the introduction of "a new language – Norman French" in "the law, government and architecture"; and, the increase of "trade and travelling across the Channel"[61]. All these contents are expressed via transformation strategies that are used for the aim of explicitly or implicitly suggesting that an English culture defined by church and castle architecture was

substituted by a Norman-French one; that England was joined not least economically to "the rest of Europe"; and that the realm was marked by a new social order and linguistic heterogeneity (English was the language of the common people).

A similar focus on change is also manifested in representing the later parts of medieval times. The account of this age, however, is designed to point at changes that led to the gradual dismantling of this earlier socio-economic and cultural-linguistic order and the unification of the medieval realm along English lines. This is illustrated with one example:

EXTRACT 1 (from the chapter titled 'The English realm', textbook MR2):
By the end of the war, in 1453, all the French lands belonging to the English Crown had been lost, apart from the town of Calais. This gave English people a stronger sense of belonging to a separate nation, with its own customs and language.

English became the language of the law-courts in 1362. Next year Parliament was opened in English for the first time. By then, English was already entering the school-room[62].

This excerpt holds the assumption that a separate English nation existed during the Norman rule, but the sense of belonging to it was weak amongst the English. This image of a dormant nation is inferred from the comparative particle 'stronger', also implying that heteronomy was a threat to the nation. Using the same linguistic resource, this passage also suggests that this sense of belonging was strengthened by two changes: all the French lands belonging to the English Crown had been lost, and English became the language of the law-courts, government and schooling. The chapter's title is an inference triggering device serving to point out that these (and other) changes signalled the domination of the English nation at the expense of the Normans in the medieval realm of England. This nation is defined in terms of linguistic and territorial criteria – standard English, "the language of all the people", a finite and bounded terrain, and a sense of spatial separateness from Europe.

Besides language and territory, this extract projects the notion of 'customs' as amongst the defining elements of the English nation. In textbooks, this notion, and that of 'traditions' which also belongs to the same semantic field, is frequently addressed in a way that brings the preservation of certain medieval traditions and customs until today to the fore. Consider the following fragment of text also reproduced from textbook MR2:

EXTRACT 1 (found in the section titled 'The medieval world around us'):

Some customs from the Middle Ages have lasted as long as its stone buildings. For instance, May Day celebrations, Morris dancing, Pancake Day and the giving of Maundy money by the monarch (**source 22**) all began in those far-off times. Moreover British law and government still have roots deep in the Middle Ages. Judges wearing robes travel round the counties as Henry II's justices did over 800 years ago. In the courts, twelve ordinary people still make up the jury...

In many countries, such traditions have been swept away by military invasion or revolution. This has not happened to the British people. Their strong links with the past give them an added reason to know about their history[63].

The message of continuity is articulated through the locus of similarity, which is realised in a variety of ways: by the temporal adverb 'still', the tense system, the 'roots deep' metaphor and parallelisms. This locus serves to conjure two similar periods about the nation's customs and traditions: the time of their origins in the Middle Ages and the present time. The effect of stressing similarity is to construct a position which is inclined towards the interpretation of the English nation as possessors of a finite number of distinctive customs that 'began in far-off times' and are still 'around us', and as existing uninterruptedly since medieval times.

In this extract, differences between the English – not 'the British people' (the use of this term here is a manifestation of the historical conflation of England and Britain) – and many other countries (implying European) are also emphasised as another nation-constituting element and these are located at the level of history and traditions. That is, 'we' have never experienced neither invasion nor revolution since the Middle Ages in contrast to 'them' which 'they' did. This resulted in the maintenance of 'our' medieval traditions until today contrary to 'theirs' that have been swept away as a result of invasions and revolutions.

Implicitly embedded in this reading of history and culture is a set of further binary oppositions between 'us' and 'them':

- 'we' have never suffered defeat, conquest or occupation since medieval times, 'they' did;
- 'we' avoided 'their' violent and bloody revolutions; 'ours' was a peaceful and bloodless revolution;
- 'our' country is a place where public affairs have been conducted with consensus; 'theirs' are places where government was carried out with violence;
- 'we' managed to maintain 'our' cultural character throughout time; 'they' did not.

All these oppositions are a part of a broader reading position inclined towards the view that 'we' are superior compared to 'them'.

The articulation of superiority over 'others' during the Middle Ages as a distinctive feature of the English occurs side by side with an attempt to construct inter-national difference between the English and the non-English British, as well as intra-national unity within the symbolic frontiers of the English nation. The strategies of unification and differentiation are realised for instance through maps. To mention one example, the narration of medieval religious life in textbook MR1 is illustrated by a map of Britain entitled "Places of pilgrimage in England"[64]. Contrary to Scotland and Wales, England is littered with crosses and names of saints symbolising famous shrines visited by "English pilgrims". The same textbook, to cite another example, also illustrates 'the Conquest' with a map of Britain called "English shires and boroughs"[65]. Unlike Scotland and Wales, again, England is visually divided by green lines and red dots representing shire borders and boroughs, respectively. The effect of both maps is to generate an image of England as unified religious and administrative entity via contrast with Scotland and Wales. Unity and difference are further reinforced by the presence of demarcated lines on both maps signifying the English borders with the other two countries, while the exclusion of the highland part of Scotland in both maps functions to inform readers that their focus is on a particular part of Britain – England.

On the linguistic level, the construction of unity and difference is expressed by group labels, the tropes of metonymy and synecdoche, and collective nouns. In the account of the Middle Ages, two habitually-used means of constituting unity are the anthroponymic label 'the English' and the corresponding adjective 'English' – such as 'the English Crown', 'the English realm', 'English churches and cathedrals', 'English pilgrims'. Having a tendency to collocate with this adjective, the collectives 'people' and 'nation' are also unifying devices and markers of difference. Sameness and difference are also promoted by the term 'England', usually used as a metonymy of land for people, and by the synecdoche 'a typical Englishman' connoting the whole group: "[w]hen writers and poets wanted to write about a typical Englishman they chose a ploughman"[66].

This utterance indicates that the textbooks also draw on a cultural-essentialist notion of 'a typical Englishman' to deduce an English nation. Self-constructed positive images of brave soldiers with superior fighting skills and noble knights with good manners and devotion to the lord, church, justice and their beloved ladies, but also of humble and wretched peasants who worked all day long in the fields appear in textbooks. Also discernible are other-produced negative stereotypes of the English as self-centred, arrogant, insular, ignorant, harsh with their children and hungry for power and material gains. An extract from a report by an ambassador from Venice reads: "[t]he English are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England... few, however, apart from the clergy, are keen on the study of books... They are lacking affection to their children who, at the age of seven or nine years, they put out to hard service in the houses of other people"[67].

To sum up, the strategies used in histories to give expression to the contents of this section included stressing national similarity, a notion which in turn rests on a presupposition of national singularity (in terms of *habitus*, territory, culture and history); and, specifying differences both between England and its neighbouring countries within the Isles, and between England and other European countries. But there is another strategy which also prevails in the representation of medieval England – the strategy of stressing sub-national differences on the basis of age, class, gender and region.

The English as a heterogeneous and pluralistic nation

This strategy is extracted from textbooks chapters dealing with medieval everyday life of the people, their behaviour, attributes and mentality, their customs and pastimes, and their working patterns. The aim of utilising this strategy is to construct heterogeneity and pluralism within the English nation without however threatening national unity. This is accomplished by representing different groups of people in terms of the categories age, class, gender and region as belonging to the English nation, and by avoiding stressing inter-national similarity on the basis of these categories.

In textbook MR2, for example, there is an emphasis on the diversity of labour division, habits of entertainment and learning practices in the countryside according to rank,

gender, and age[68]. Within well-off families, it is often mentioned that women took charge of the household and men were in charge of running the manor house. The leisure activities of well-to-do adults usually included hunting with dogs and hawks and games such as hoops, skipping robes and board games of their children. Gender learning differences between rich children are also pointed out: girls learned to sing, dance and do embroidery, whilst boys went horse-riding and archery. On the other hand, peasant adults tend to be associated with dancing and drinking on village festivals and family celebrations, and their children with games such as blind man's buff and tag and with making swings and see-saws. In contrast to those coming from affluent families, children from poor families are also depicted to have had no education and instead to have done odd jobs such as fetching water from the stream.

Intra-national regional differentiation is also emphasised. Textbook MR1, for instance, identifies dissimilarities in occupation and liberties between rural and urban areas: the unfree peasants of the village in contrast to the free craftspeople and merchants of the town[69]. In textbook MUK2, to state another example, there is a south-north divide based upon differences either in wealth (the rich south vs. the poor north), in landscape (the flatter, more fertile south vs. the hilly, less fertile north), in demography (the busy towns and villages of the south vs. the far fewer busy towns or crowded villages of the north), or in work types (crops growing and trade in the south vs. stock-breeding, woollen cloth-making and coal-mining in the north)[70].

A final example of this strategic emphasis on intra-national heterogeneity and pluralism is differentiation between landowners of the country nobility and ordinary peasants or villagers of lower rank in terms of housing and habits of eating and drinking[71]. The families of noble lords and ladies are portrayed as having lived in grand and fine manor houses made of stone or brick, and their meals to have included vegetable soup as a starter, either boiled beef, mouton, roast pork, poultry or fish as the main course, and cheese, a fruit tart or pancakes as desert with ale or wine as the usual drink. In contrast, villagers' families are depicted as having lived in dark and smoky huts, and their meals to have been "very plain" mainly consisting of bread and cheese with an onion, hot vegetable soup, a little fish or salted meat often added, and fruit in the summer and watery ale to drink.

England's green and pleasant land

In the representation of medieval times, there is, finally, the deployment of a positive presentation strategy about the English terrain. The country is described as a green, beautiful and abundant land, which, as already said earlier, attracted the Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Normans to invade and conquer it at different historical times. By means of a series of paintings, visual images of England as a land of small villages surrounded by fields, lanes, copses, streams and hills, of little market and port towns with walls, towers, and gates; of humble cottages, fine manor houses, and grand mansions with magnificent gardens and man-made lakes, and of old abbeys, churches and castles, scattered all over the country, are also articulated in the textbooks[72]. This portrayal of England alludes to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century imagination of the south-east countryside as the 'real' England.

This image is often reinforced by contrast to the industrial cities of modern Britain which are portrayed to be dominated by ugly and noisy factories belching smoke and filth. This is also evident in nostalgic expressions such as "England was greener then, with larger areas of forest and marshland"[73]. Similarly, another textbook writes that industrialisation was "spoiling England's 'green and pleasant land' " and that people looked back "longingly to a time when Britain had been quieter, prettier place"[74]. The explicit or implicit contrast between rural, pre-industrial England and urban, industrial Britain exemplifies the ambivalence which characterises national identity construction in school historiography: images and motifs from Englishness and Britishness are mixed in patchwork fashion.

The transformation of the modern Britain: progress for all or for some?

The topic of fundamental metamorphosis in modern Britain refers to a set of interlinked changes in industry, transport, agriculture, demography, science, technology, trade, literacy and business. As a means of its articulation, the textbooks often adopt a strategy of transformation with the aim of projecting the metamorphosis of the British from an agricultural and ignorant into an industrial, urbanised, informed and trading nation. Consider this example:

EXTRACT 1 (the preface of the chapter titled 'The Industrial Revolution', textbook ETI1):

Between 1750 and 1900 Britain was transformed. In 1750 it was mainly agricultural country with a small population. Towns were small. There were some manufacturers, miners and merchants; but the great majority of people lived by farming. For many of them the threat of starvation through harvest failure was never far away. Few lived in any great comfort.

In 1900 Britain depended on the mass production of goods in factories and on mining and processing of raw materials such as coal and iron. There was a large population. Many people lived in big towns and cities. Those who earned their living by farming were now a minority. The threat of starvation was very slight. A large number of people lived in reasonable comfort[75].

Through the locus of difference, this excerpt creates two different periods in terms of the socio-economic condition of the British. The first is the era prior to and in 1750 where Britain was agricultural country with a small population and small towns, and the great majority of people were farmers and only some were manufacturers, miners and merchants. In and after 1900, the second epoch, Britain had a large population and big towns and cities, farmers were now the minority and the majority depended on the mass production of goods in factories and on mining and processing of raw materials. In the words of textbook ETI3, "Britain had become an industrial nation"[76]. The time between 1750 and 1900 is then the period in which these changes took place, which, as the passage's title indicates, are often designated as 'The Industrial Revolution'. This was for textbook ETI2 a significant event for it represents the origins of the common present. " 'The Industrial Revolution' was a turning point in history – it led to the kind of society we have today"[77].

Extract one, notably the contrast between the living conditions of the in-group in 1750 (the threat of starvation was never far away) and in 1900 (the threat of starvation was very slight), and a specific wording (such as 'progress', 'improvements', 'advances') used to refer to what had happened between 1750 and 1900, highlight a tendency to promote a reading position through which social and economic change is construed as progress. This locus of change as beneficial is often realised by explicitly or implicitly ascribing negative predications to the pre-modern socio-economic state of the in-group and positive ones to their modern condition. Side by side with this strategy, there is also an emphasis on homogenisation with the purpose of stressing that progress applied to all. Consider two examples:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section titled 'Better food', textbook ETI1):

The Industrial Revolution also meant that people's diets slowly improved. By 1900 people of all classes, living in both town and countryside, were able to buy a much wider variety of food than people living in 1750[78].

EXTRACT 2 (from the section called 'The Great Exhibition', textbook ETI1):
Above all, he [Prince Albert] believed people were living through a time of wonderful change brought about by modern inventions which were improving everyone's life[79].

In both excerpts, the strategy of negative and positive connotation (of the in-group's 'life' and 'diets') is realised through implicit and explicit comparisons: 'better food' and '...a much wider variety of food than...', and the verb 'to improve', denoting a sense of getting better. Further clues, the phrase 'people of all classes, living in both town and countryside' (extract one), the deictic 'everyone' (extract two), and the collective 'people' (both excerpts), indicate that changes in food and other areas are presented as having affected the lives of all Britons, irrespective of class, gender, region and ethnicity. The effect of this combination is to portray the period in which the transformation took place as a time of wonderful change for all, a reading of the past constituted by letting fall into oblivion all the disadvantages also brought by change and by excluding those who did not take part in progress and prosperity.

These absences and opposition to the image of modern times as an era of wonderful change and progress for all is the focus of another argumentation scheme. This can be summed up as follows: changes were both beneficial and detrimental because they brought advantages to some and disadvantages to others. It is used as a strategy of negative and positive presentation (of change), and is intended to stress the twofold effect of societal and economic change – prosperity and happiness on the one hand, and poverty and misery, on the other.

This *topos* is manifested in various ways in the textbooks. It is expressed by opposites, for example, costs vs. benefits in the statement that "changes often bring costs as well as benefits"; to gain vs. to lose out in the utterance that "most people gained from new forms of transport but some lost out"; and, advantages vs. disadvantages in the urge of readers to "list the advantages and disadvantages of the changes in agriculture in the late 19th century"[80]. It is also realised through the 'price' metaphor, implying that wealth for some meant poverty for others: "[t]he Industrial Revolution made Britain, for a time, the richest country on earth. But the price of material progress was misery and squalor for millions of men, women and children"[81]. It is also evident, to mention two more examples,

in the use of question instead of assertion in chapters' or sections' titles such as "A Golden Age?", and in the deployment of such phrases as "Progress for whom?" which also appear as section titles[82]. The use of question here is both the impact and a reflection of new history. According to this paradigm of history writing (see Chapter Five), the school historian's task is to create an environment that supports the pupil's investigation of the past from a range of perspectives and the pupil's task, in turn, is to construct its own understanding of the past by being engaged in historical enquiries.

In the textbooks, there is also an effort to resolve the tension emerging out of the co-occurrence of the two opposing arguments – beneficial to all vs. beneficial to some. This is attempted through a transformation strategy. The purpose of this strategy is to transform the reading of the common past: to substitute the entrenched interpretation that changes were beneficial to all with the newly-established view that changes were favourable to some but not to others. This latter view is mainly drawn upon from post-war socialist historiography which sought to re-read the industrial age. The former view alludes to earlier political and historical discourses as well as to the rhetoric of conservative politicians and historians in the 1970s and 1980s. Consider this passage:

EXTRACT 1 (from the section called 'The Crystal Palace', textbook ETI1):

Led by Britain, the people of the world had the ability to make useful and beautiful things which would give them happier and more comfortable lives. Looking ahead, they hoped for peace, prosperity and progress.

The year before, however, a cartoon in the magazine *Punch* had pointed out that things were not as simple as that (source 11). Mr. Punch's 'Industrial Exhibition' showed some of those who were not benefiting at all from Britain's prosperity and progress[83].

The starting point of this extract is the assumption that changes were beneficial to all (in the first paragraph). In paragraph two, the combination of the conjunction 'however', negation ('things were not...') and parallelism ('...as simple as that') functions to dismantle this interpretation of the past by assigning to it the negative qualities of incompleteness and simplification, as it ignores those who were not benefiting at all from Britain's prosperity and progress. By implication, this passage puts forward the view that changes were favourable to some but they were not to others. This reading of the past is further qualified in a positive way by implicitly attributing to it a more complex and comprehensive

character. In textbook ETI3, this is explicitly expressed by designating this *topos* as a "balanced view" of the past[84].

The British as a heterogeneous nation

Implicit in this interpretation of the past is an emphasis on sub-national heterogeneity in terms of social class. Explicitly, this is expressed, for example, by certain modes of addressing those who benefited from changes in towns and those who did not, and by associating their housing conditions and habits of entertainment with specific predications. These are presented in Table Four below.

Table Four. Patterns of wording those who benefited from industrialism and those who did not

those who benefited...	**those who did not benefit...**
they are referred to as...	**they are addressed as...**
rich, well-to-do, well-off	poor, unprivileged
the upper and middle or ruling classes	the working or poorer classes
merchants, businessmen, professionals, factory owners	skilled, better-paid and unskilled, less-paid workers or craftsmen
employers, masters	employees, slaves, prisoners
they lived in...	**they lived in...**
beautiful, large and fine houses with delicately carved furniture, fine china, silver plate, paintings and sculpture	wretched, rundown, cramped, filthy, damp, dreadful, unhealthy, unventilated houses without light, proper drainage, sewerage or water supply
clean and healthy suburbs with wide streets and squares	dirty, smelly and overcrowded slums with narrow and dreary streets
they were enjoying...	**their leisure activities included...**
walks in the parks, conversation and reading, baths in hot spring water, music, plays, parties and balls, and travelling abroad	dog and cock fights in the streets, excessive drinking, gambling, singing and games like dominoes and shore ha'penny in public houses

This Table highlights a dissimilation strategy that is deployed in textbooks to articulate those who benefited from changes and those who did not. This strategy aims at stressing class differences within the British nation by insinuating a symbolic frontier between an upper and middle class world of wealth, prosperity, power and domination, and a working or lower class world of poverty, misery, exploitation and subordination. It constructs intra-national difference without threatening the unity of the nation because it often co-occurs with a tendency to emphasise homogeneity, for example, with such group label as 'the British people' (see below for the theme of British unity), and because there is no effort to

project inter-national sameness in terms of class. Only statements like the following one, which, however, occur rarely, can pose a treat to unity: "[a] 19th century writer claimed that the lives led by the rich and the poor were so different that Queen Victoria ruled over two nations – a poor nation and a rich one"[85].

The making of a common culture: British or English?

Also observable in this table is a tendency to lay emphasis on intra-national variations between classes in terms of everyday culture. The analysis shows that this tendency occurs side by side with an attempt to construct and represent national cultural similarity between different classes, regions and sexes: "[s]imilarly, spectators from all classes of society assembled in their thousands to watch contests between famous bare-knuckle fighters"[86]. What is presupposed and projected, in other words, is the idea of a common British culture. This idea is apparent in the following two excerpts:

EXTRACT 1 (from the introduction of the chapter titled 'Culture', textbook ETI3):
This chapter looks at British 'culture'. When people talk about 'culture' they usually mean 'the arts' – painting, classical music, literature and architecture. This chapter, however, also examines 'popular' culture – the activities which the majority of people enjoyed doing in their spare time[87].

EXTRACT 2 (from the preface of the chapter called 'Culture in troubled times', textbook MUK3):
Most tourists visiting Britain today come because of the country's rich history. Their holiday might include a trip to see St Paul's Cathedral in London or paintings in the National Gallery.

If they stayed a little longer they might watch a Shakespeare play in Stratford or visit one of the great Elizabethan houses such as Longleat in Wiltshire. All of these things are part of British culture handed down from Tudor and Stuart times[88].

In excerpt one, the notion of British culture is defined on the basis of both popular culture and the arts. Elsewhere, this concept is expanded by the introduction of a set of further dimensions: eating and drinking habits, holidays at home and abroad, clothing, housing and many others.

The second passage, notably the statement that 'all of these things are part of British culture handed down from Tudor and Stuart times', draws attention to a strategy of continuity that is aimed at articulating the preservation of national culture since the late medieval and early modern times. This strategy is designed to carry out another function: to

evoke the continuous existence of a British nation through the preservation of its culture. This evocation is also triggered by the notion of a British collective history.

In this second extract, the choices of a Shakespeare play in Stratford, the Elizabethan house of Longleat in Wiltshire, St Paul's Cathedral and the National Gallery in London as exemplars of this culture highlight another strategy that is often used to construct the idea of a British culture: an unbalanced presentation of the elements constituting this culture which serves to associate this culture more with Englishness rather than with Britishness. In general, textbooks tend to focus on cultural sites and symbols either of an English culture or located within England, excluding the other constituent parts of Britain. For example, on extracts from books written by English writers such as Dickens and Shelley, on "the sunny south coast" as the holiday resorts of people living in Lancashire and Yorkshire, on photos and press reports of FA Cup Finals, on a flyer from "the English Music Hall", or, on a picture of the Globe theatre.

At the same time, one textbook holds a portray of the Scottish-born King Charles I and another refers to the Last Night of the Proms and holds a picture with people waving Union Jacks and singing the Scottish-written patriotic song Rule Britannia. This means that the British dimension of this culture is also stressed, but undoubtedly, the emphasis is on English cultural signifiers and locations.

The Industrial Revolution as a source of British superiority and uniqueness

The topic of modern industrial change is often represented in a way which stresses the superiority of Britons over 'the rest of the world' in terms of industry, transport, technology, science and trade. Consider this cluster of utterances illustrating this strategy of singularisation:

1. The exhibition inside showed that British manufactures were the best in the world.
2. Such machine tools, along with railway locomotives, iron bridges, textiles of all kinds and an electric telegraph, gave clear evidence of the superiority of British industry.
3. The Great Exhibition of 1851 celebrated the supremacy of the British and demonstrated their self-confidence.
4. Britain was the first country in the world to have an industrial revolution.

5. Britain's total foreign trade was greater than that of France, Germany and Italy combined in 1871.
6. British manufacturers dominated world trade, despite duties put on their goods in overseas ports.
7. The achievements of British engineering were admired by the rest of the world at the Great Exhibition of 1851, in London.
8. Moreover Britain had no serious rival as a shipbuilder[89].

In all these utterances, the linguistic construction of national singularity is realised in various ways: by using a wording which carries connotations of superiority and through negation that insinuates that Britain was the workshop of the world; by explicit or implicit comparisons with other nations implying that 'we' were superior compared to 'them'; and, through positive attributions which typify the British 'self' as a skilful, confident and capable *habitus* with a strong inclination towards science, industry and trade. The effect of this strategy is the evocation of Britain as a community of "great" inventors and innovators, "gifted" engineers and scientists, "leading" industrialists and businessmen, and "genius" "with great energy and skill". In other words, it positions the national 'self' as the prototype and agent of the industrial, technological and financial advancement of the world.

Britain's relative industrial decline is also embedded in the narration of industrialism. Strategically, this topic tends to be addressed in a trivialising way that is intended to relativise decline and to sustain the image of the in-group as a great nation. Trivialisation is frequently accomplished through the unbalanced presentation of the two themes – the rise of the 'self' as the world's first industrial nation and its relative decline. It is also apparent in the pervasive use of an 'although, still or managed to' type of argument:

- Although by 1900 Britain was only one among several industrialized nations, it managed to keep its lead in providing the world with capital as well as with shipping, banking, and insurance services.
- Although no longer the 'world's workshop', Britain was still the foremost trading country in 1900[90].

In both statements, the two part-conjunction 'although' functions to de-emphasise the content of the first part of the sentence – Britain's relative decline – and to highlight instead the content of its second part – British supremacy. In other words, what is conveyed here through this weighing of contents is that although 'we' experienced decline in some areas of industrial activities, 'we' managed to maintain 'our' supremacy in others.

The Industrial Revolution and British unification

In representations of transformation, instances of 'our' superiority over 'others' often co-occurs with an emphasis on similarity between the English, Scots, Welsh and Irish – i.e. a strategy of national unification that aims at constituting a homogenised British nation. On the linguistic level, this is mainly expressed by referential modes and the tropes of metonymy, synecdoche and personification as a special form of metaphor. A very commonly-used means of constructing unity is the anthroponymic term 'the British' and the corresponding epithet 'British' – 'British engineering', 'British merchants', 'British manufactured goods'. Unity is also promoted by the toponym 'Britain' that is often deployed as a metonymy of the type country for people to refer to the British. In some occurrences, it is also anthropomorphized, as in: 'Britain had no serious rival as a shipbuilder'. The collective nouns 'nation' and 'people', also qualified by the adjective British, also play a predominant role in constituting sameness.

This emphasis on British unity is also promoted by visual devices such as maps. In textbook ETI3, to mention one example, the narration of the industrial age is illustrated by a map showing the main nineteenth-century industrial centres and their specialisations: Belfast from Ulster for its textiles mills and shipbuilding industries; Sheffield, Newcastle, Manchester and Birmingham from England for their iron and steel industries, coalfields, textiles mills and engineering works; Cardiff from Wales for its coalfields and iron production; and Glasgow and Dundee from Scotland for their coalfields, industries of shipbuilding, pottery and textiles mills[91]. To mention another example, the representation of agricultural changes in the same textbook contains a map presenting farming specialisation by region: Scotland and Ulster specialised in breeding cattle and cultivating potatoes; East Anglia in cultivating wheat and barley; South Wales and England in sheep breeding[92]. These maps project an image of Britain and Northern Ireland as a unified economic system by representing various, rural and urban regions as playing different roles in this system, each contributing to its industrial greatness and agricultural autarchy in its own distinct way. This unifying function is further reinforced by the absence of any demarcated lines (symbolising the borders) between England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, as well as by the fact that all of them are shown with the same colour.

Finally, the unification strategy is manifested in 'the cult of genius'. As hinted earlier, representations of the Industry Revolution are accompanied by a tendency to narrate the deeds of 'great' inventors and innovators, 'gifted' engineers and leading scientists, businessmen with 'great energy and skill', 'clever' industrialists and landowners, trading 'genius' and 'pioneers' in railways, shipbuilding and road-building. A closer look at the origins of these heroes and heroines reveals that the English are prominent enough – Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Bakewell, Boulton and others. But the other British peoples are also seen as contributing to the list of names, especially Scotland: Watt, Macadam, Thomas Bell, Symington and Telford. This has also a solidarity-enhancing effect, articulating a reading position through which industrialisation is represented as an authentic British phenomenon with all four parts playing vital roles in the British industrial superiority of the age.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that two discursive constructs, or subject positions, of national identification are articulated in the history textbooks which were written and circulated in the early-to-mid 1990s – an English and a British position projected by the historical narrative of Constitutionalism, of Expansionism and of Society, Economy and Culture. The two identities were identified and described with reference to the different meanings which they assign to the content categories of past, present, future, *habitus*, space and culture; to the different strategies that they employ to construct certain nationalist concepts such as unity, continuity, uniqueness, superiority; and, to the different language and visuals that they use to realise their nationalist content and strategies.

The co-articulation of Englishness and Britishness in school histories works against the constitution of a consistent and unified identity. Instead, the merged discourse about the national 'self' is characterised by such features as heterogeneity, fragmentation, contradictions and ambivalence.

From a historical stance, this co-occurrence of British and English national identities in textbooks signifies continuity in identity formation in the domain of school historiography, as well as the socio-cultural reproduction of the entrenched, ambiguous

image of nationhood. In other words, the hybridisation of Englishness and Britishness is a reflection of the historical enigma or problem of nationality in England: English or British?

It moreover means that the new nationalist discourse in the signifying practices of conservative politicians and intellectuals sketched in Chapter Four played an important role in maintaining and perpetuating the well-established framework for national identity formation. In this view, textbooks can be seen as a mechanism "containing a recognised canon of knowledge supporting a cultural heritage which rejects pluralist notions of socioeconomic postmodernity and poststructuralism" and which had helped the Conservatives to bolster a cultural hegemony based upon "cultural restorationism"[93].

However, the analysis has shown that persistence is also accompanied by change. In the textbooks, discursive changes in the entrenched image of the nation were primarily carried out via transformation strategies. These particular strategies drew upon a finite set of traditional conventions from British and English discourses on nationhood (the reading of Magna Carta, the image of the British Empire, the interpretation of modern industrial change, opinions about other British nations and attitudes towards colonised peoples) in order to transform them into new ones. The new meanings were appropriated to a large extent from discursive practices that the Conservatives opposed to and sought to reverse: from radical, socialist and feminist academic historiographies of the post-war period, from the rhetoric of multiculturalism and anti-racism, and from post-colonial historical and political narratives.

In the process of appropriation, however, some of the appropriated meanings were translated. For example, the belittling of the British/English as 'racists' was decontextualised from post-colonial historiography and was recontextualised in textbooks and took the trivialising form of a 'yes racist, but with the very best intentions' argument.

Thus, apart from the historical trajectory of nationhood and material processes of decolonisation, historiographical, multicultural, anti-racist and post-colonial discourses were important conditions of possibility for identity reconstruction in school historical narratives. The incorporation into history textbooks of certain of their meanings also highlights a different mode of interpreting and interacting with the context of possibility. That is, while

conservative politicians and intellectuals rejected ideological, political and social change, school historians tried to modify their discursive practices of identity construction in order to accommodate change.

Also important for the reconstruction of identity was the paradigm of new history writing and teaching, which the Conservatives also opposed to[94]. To be more precise, it is the belief that history is nothing more than an interpretation of the past which is not fixed but shifts in the light of new historical evidence that made it possible for transformations in nationalist discourse to occur. However, traditional features of historiography also existed in textbooks and the tension arising from this muddle of practices, notably oscillations between knowledge as truth and knowledge as interpretation, was a major source of ambivalence in identity.

New history practices of historical writing also made it possible for two further shifts in the construction of national identity in the field of school history to take place, which were, though, already apparent before the production of new textbooks[95]. The first is what had been mourned as "the loss of the first person plural in school history textbooks"[96]. This is an effect of the non use of the pronoun and possessive pronoun system in the newly-produced textbooks. Chapter Five showed that this system was traditionally in use in textbooks and carried out a central sameness-constitutive function by positioning both writers and readers within the symbolic boundaries of the nation.

The second discontinuity refers to the way in which textbook writers position themselves in relation to represented nationalist narratives and the way in which readers are summoned to identify with them. Traditionally, and as Chapter Five also illustrated, school historians used to be involved in the making and circulation of nationalist discourse and their histories were aimed at emotionally and cognitively engaging pupils in this discourse. In the newly-written textbooks, the deployment by authors of a range of new history features such as direct reporting with historical sources, indirect reporting, multiple perspectives, questions instead of assertions, indicates a tendency to detach themselves from the represented discourse about the nation. At the same time, these generic features function to mitigate the persuasive impact of nationalist discourse on the readership, and thereby, identification with it.

Endnotes

[1] There is a fourth strand in textbooks, the narrative of Christianity, which will not be sketched due to space constrains. As the analysis unfolds, the reader will realise that this omission does not affect the argument of the chapter.
[2] White, J. (1992) The purpose of school history: has the national curriculum got it right?, in: *The aims of school history: the national curriculum and beyond* (Institute of Education, Tufnell press), p. 10.
[3] IS1, p. 22, pp. 25-27, pp. 31-33, pp. 47-48; IS2, pp. 4-6, pp. 25-27; MR1, p. 6.
[4] IS1, p. 22, p. 25, p. 31, p. 32; IS2, p. 6; MR1, p. 6.
[5] IS1, p. 47; MR1, p. 6.
[6] MR2, p. 7.
[7] MR1, p. 6.
[8] MR2, p. 7.
[9] See: MR1, pp. 4-23; MR2, pp. 6-25.
[10] MR2, p. 16.
[11] MR2, p. 23.
[12] MR2, p. 61.
[13] MR1, p. 33.
[14] MR2, p. 59.
[15] See: Kennedy, P.M. (1973) The decline of nationalistic history in the West, 1900-1970, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 91-99.
[16] MR2, p. 60; MR1, p. 34.
[17] MR1, pp. 34-36; MR2, p. 56, pp. 61-65.
[18] MR2, pp. 63-64.
[19] MUK3, p. 16.
[20] Hodge, R. & Kress, G. (1993) *Language as ideology* (London and New York, Routledge), 2nd ed., p. 145.
[21] MUK2, p. 109.
[22] MUK4, p. 46.
[23] MUK1, p. 90, p. 14; MR1, p. 125.
[24] See: Hobsbawm, E. (1997) *On history* (London, Abacus), pp. 111-119, pp. 266-270.
[25] ETI1, p. 80.
[26] ETI1, p. 84.
[27] ETI2, p. 18, p. 22, p. 56.
[28] See: MR2, pp. 52-54, pp. 67-77; MR1, p. 6, pp. 80-90; MUK3, pp. 4-5, pp. 48-59, p. 94; MUK1, p. 11, pp. 37-50, pp. 83-84, pp. 118-125; MUK4, p. 7, pp. 11-13, p. 70.
[29] MUK3, p. 48.
[30] MUK3, p. 50.
[31] MUK3, p. 4.
[32] MUK4, p. 12. Also, see: MUK2, p. 93; MUK1, p. 119.
[33] MUK4, p. 12.
[34] MR1, p. 87.
[35] MUK1, p. 42, p. 44, p. 117; MR2, p. 52, p. 54, pp. 67-68; MUK3, p. 4, p. 52; MUK4, p. 48.; ETI2, p. 8; MR1, p. 86.
[36] Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R., *op.cit.*, p. 107.
[37] Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research* (London and New York, Routledge), pp. 49-50.
[38] MUK1, p. 118.
[39] MUK3, p. 53.
[40] MUK3, pp. 56-57. Also, see: MUK2, p. 46.
[41] MUK1, p. 121.
[42] MUK2, p. 93.
[43] MUK1, p. 119.
[44] MUK4, p. 7.
[45] MUK4, p. 70.
[46] MUK3, p. 5.
[47] See: ETI2, pp. 18-24, pp. 88-97; MUK3, pp. 84-91; MUK1, pp. 126-128; ETI1, pp. 53-79; ETI3, pp. 32-45.
[48] ETI1, p. 53.
[49] MUK3, p. 90.

[50] MUK3, p. 85.
[51] ETI3, p. 45; ETI1, p. 66.
[52] ETI3, p. 38.
[53] ETI1, pp. 68-69.
[54] ETI2, p. 88, p. 91.
[55] ETI1, p. 68.
[56] ETI3, p. 38.
[57] ETI1, pp. 73-74.
[58] ETI2, p. 97.
[59] ETI3, p. 42.
[60] Hobsbawm, E., *op.cit.*, pp. 94-119, pp. 266-285.
[61] See: MR1, pp. 19-23; MR2, pp. 17-25.
[62] MR2, p. 102.
[63] MR2, p. 109.
[64] MR1, p. 68.
[65] MR1, p. 10.
[66] MR1, p. 37.
[67] MUK2, p. 11. Also, see: MUK4, p. 48 and MR1, p. 87.
[68] MR2, pp. 37-45.
[69] MR1, pp. 37-55.
[70] MUK2, p. 9-10.
[71] MR1, pp. 39-46; MR2, pp. 37-45, pp. 78-89.
[72] See: ETI3, p. 27; MR1, pp. 19-20, p. 42, p. 51, p. 60, p. 68, pp. 126-127; MUK2, p. 9, p. 39-40, p. 102, pp. 104-105; ETI2, p. 6; MUK3, p. 62, pp. 82-83.
[73] MUK2, p. 10.
[74] ETI2, p. 107
[75] ETI1, p. 24.
[76] ETI3, p. 14.
[77] ETI2, p. 26.
[78] ETI1, p. 9.
[79] ETI1, p. 7.
[80] ETI3, p. 12, p. 13, p. 23.
[81] ETI2, p. 116.
[82] ETI1, p. 42, p. 47; ETI3, p. 12.
[83] ETI1, p. 9.
[84] ETI3, p. 13.
[85] ETI3, p. 29.
[86] ETI2, p. 111.
[87] ETI3, p. 86.
[88] MUK3, p. 76.
[89] See: ETI1, p. 9, p. 126, p. 26, p. 58, p. 27; ETI2, p. 83, p. 86, p. 79, p. 33, p. 82, p. 86, p. 72.
[90] ETI1, p.60; ETI2, p. 86.
[91] ETI3, p. 19.
[92] ETI3, p. 10.
[93] Crawford, K. (1996) Packaging the past: the primary history curriculum and how to teach it, *Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 401.
[94] See: Phillips, R. (1998) *History teaching, nationhood and the State: a study in educational politics* (London, Cassell); Crawford, K. (1995) A history of the right: the battle for control of national curriculum history 1989-1994, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. XXXXIII, No. 4, pp. 433-456; McKiernan, D. (1993) History in the national curriculum: imagining the nation at the end of the 20th century, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 39-48.
[95] See: School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1994) *Occasional Papers in History 1: The impact of the National Curriculum on the production of history textbooks and other resources for Key Stage 2 and 3 – a discussion paper* (London, SCAA).
[96] N. Tate cited in: Phillips, R., *op.cit.*, p. 128.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

8.1 Thesis summary: the course of the argument

This thesis has presented an analysis of the construction of national identity in Cyprus and England at two historical moments for each country: the period after the Greek and Turkish military offensives in Cyprus, where a Centre-Left coalition was in power for most part of time (1974-93), and the period of the administration of the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom (1979-97). Specifically, it has examined identity constructs in school histories across the two settings and has addressed their relationships with configurations of identity as articulated by intellectuals and politicians.

Based on a view of identities as 'imagined communities' which are produced, sustained, transformed and dismantled discursively in narrative representations about the nation, it has been argued that these specific time periods were *moments of a metamorphosis of national identity*. Changes in identity were evident both in the domain of school history and in the political and intellectual fields. However, the origins and motivations as well as the patterns of identity reconstruction varied across and within the two settings (among these fields). Despite their differences, the new identities across national settings and social fields shared a set of common motifs – hybridity, ambivalence, fragmentation and contradictions.

Contexts of possibility for national identity reconstruction

In each place, discontinuity in the modality of imagining the national 'self' was contingent upon the ideological, political and socio-economic specifics of the context in which narratives of school historians, intellectuals and politicians were embedded. The contingency was made up of a complex set of material and discursive elements, processes and structures, reflecting the diverse trajectories of Cyprus and England over time. For example, territorial division along ethnic lines in Cyprus and the collapse of the British

imperial state were defined as material factors, whereas the Turkish Cypriot proposals for a confederation solution to the Cyprus Problem and the rhetorics of anti-racism and multiculturalism in England were classified as discursive elements.

Together, discursive and non-discursive contextual conditions opened up a new space of possibilities regarding the representation and construction of nationhood. This means that the context did not cause the re-articulation of new identity in each setting, it rather enabled this to appear, to juxtapose itself with other social processes, to situate itself in relation to them and to define its difference, in short, to be placed in a field of exteriority. In other words, the context made it possible for identity to be redefined by providing either new objects to talk and write about or opportunities to speak and think about existing ones in novel ways. It operated as a regime of possibilities, permitting, and at the same time, constraining what could have been written and talked about the national 'self'. Thus, the process of identity reconstruction was neither necessary nor inevitable – it could have not occurred; or, it could have taken a variety of shapes based on different readings of, and interactions with, the context of possibility, by the members of the imagined communities.

Political and intellectual discourses of national identity

The thesis has argued that a complex cluster of changes brought the concept of 'nation' or 'people' to political and intellectual attention. Nationhood or peoplehood was not merely talked and written about but, in the course of talking and writing about the 'self', it was reconstituted through and within discourse in certain ways.

Based on the notion of interdiscursivity – a discourse is shaped by its relations with others and draws on others – the novelty of these identities was defined as the intermingling of pre-constituted and newly-constructed propositions, strategies and language about the national 'self' in new ways – *in novel interdiscursive mélanges*. The pre-constituted semantic resources were drawn upon from pre-existing discourses of nationhood. Some of the meanings were integrated into the new identity construct to be transformed, whereas others were used for purposes of perpetuation. Even though some of the motifs were drawn on to be sustained, they were decontextualised first and then recontextualised, and often

provided with novel functions. The newly-articulated nationalist meanings were constructed out of the particularities of the new context of possibilities which politicians and intellectuals were situated in.

Hence, the new identities in Cyprus and England were characterised by tension, fragmentation and ambivalence arising from the co-occurrence of two opposing trends: the tendency to renegotiate aspects of the entrenched image of the 'self' and adopt it to changed or changing circumstances, and the tendency to reaffirm and restate well-established narratives about who 'we' are in light of radical changes. The oscillations between past and future or between tradition and modernisation were often dependent on the topic addressed, the audience to which it was addressed, and the overall setting in which a text or a speech took place.

The new identifications also oscillated between inclusion and exclusion, images of *Kulturnation* and *Staatsnation*, sameness and difference; or put differently, between Greekness and Cypriotness in Cyprus, and Britishness and Englishness in England. In the Cypriot case, identity often integrated Greek and Turkish Cypriots into a Cypriot people on the basis of civic-territorial and cultural similarities. At the same time, and being grounded on ethno-cultural differences, it tended to set them apart, placing them within the symbolic boundaries of the Greek and Turkish nations respectively. Likewise, the new identity in England often differentiated 'the English' from various others (non-English Britons, ethnic minorities, Continental Europeans), mainly based on ethnic difference. On the other hand, it tended to unify all the ethnicities of Britain on account of territorial, political, and socio-economic similarities.

Producing new history textbooks

In both places, one of the effects of the reconstruction of national identity in the signifying practices of intellectuals and politicians was the production of new history textbooks. To understand this point, it is important to recall the productive capacities of discourse. It has been suggested that a discourse produces a web of practices and technologies for the knowledge which it generates. From this point of view, the new

textbooks were important social technologies through which the new intellectual and political nationalist discourses sought to circulate in society, opening up the possibility for the image of the 'self' to be also reconstituted in school narratives of the past.

Yet, even though these new discourses produced new textbooks and opened up the possibility for the rearticulation of the national 'self'-image in them, this does not necessarily mean that intellectual and political contents, strategies and language were appropriated by school historians and were circulated in society via school histories. In this view, the question is what the nature was of the relationship between constructs of identity in the newly-written textbooks and the ones that were promoted by politicians and intellectuals. In turn, this question is partly related to how the intellectual and political discourses interacted with what has been called 'the context of reception' – the context-specific circumstances of the educational field and its sub-domain of school history. It is also associated with the issue of how textbook writers themselves interpreted the context of possibility to which the context of reception belonged.

Discursive constructs of national identity in school histories

It has been argued that national identity was also reconstituted discursively in the newly-written history textbooks. Change in the image of the 'self', as was the case with political and intellectual views, was accompanied by continuity. Similar also to the practices of politicians and intellectuals, the complex combination of new and old nationalist meanings in novel hybrid mixtures defined the novelty of identification in school histories across the two settings. Despite these similarities, the thesis has identified significant differences in the process of identity (re)construction in Greek Cypriot and English textbooks.

A major difference is related to the nature of the strategies used to reconstruct identity and to what made it possible for different strategies to occur, as well as to the sources of ambivalence, heterogeneity and contradictions in the new school discourses on the national 'self'. In Cyprus, change was evident mainly in the crystallisation and foregrounding of a narrative about the people's past that was historically backgrounded, ill-

defined and did not occupy a great deal of space in histories. This refers to the narrative of autonomy and heteronomy which projected a Cypriot identity and was articulated mostly by constructive strategies.

In English school histories, changes in the entrenched image of the nation to a large extent were articulated via transformative strategies. These strategies drew on a number of certain pre-constituted meanings from British and English, school historical and non-educational discourses on nationhood, to transform them into new ones. The new meanings were appropriated from anti-nationalistic academic histories of the post-war period, post-colonial historiography and the emerging discourses of anti-racism and cultural pluralism.

This diverse pattern of identity reconstruction was primarily determined by the local specificities of the field of school history. New history practices of historiography – notably the belief that history is just a reading of the past which is never definitive but shifts in light of new historical evidence – made it possible for overt strategic transformations in narratives about the nation to take place in English history textbooks. In Greek Cypriot textbooks such transformations were unlikely to occur for traditional historiography was the norm, especially the belief that history is the objective and definitive account of the past.

However, traditional features of historical writing existed side by side with new history in England. The tension arising from this amalgam of practices, notably the oscillation between events as truth and as interpretation, was an important source of ambivalence and inconsistencies in identity. Other sources included, firstly, the conventional blending of contents, strategies and language from Englishness and Britishness, thus reproducing the traditional confusion of nationality in England, and secondly, the co-articulation of new, antiracist and multi-cultural meanings with pre-existing, nationalist and mono-cultural (English or British) ones.

In Cyprus, the main source of hybridity and ambivalence in the new nationalist discourse of school historiography was the co-occurrence of a Cypriot and a Greek position of national identification. This tendency reflected the Greek Cypriot dilemma of cultural identity – Greek or Cypriot?

The style of national imagination

A second difference in Greek Cypriot and English school histories is associated with 'the style', to use Anderson's terms, 'in which national identities are imagined'. In Cyprus, this style revolved around two inextricably-entangled images of the 'self', each projected by different narrative strands. The first was the image of a small but defiant Cypriot people which since the dawn of history have been destined to suffer and to fight for their freedom and survival against big and powerful peoples who made their way through Cyprus or conquered it due to its advantageous geographical location. This representation of who 'we' are was embedded into the narrative of autonomy and heteronomy. The second image of the 'self' was promoted by the narratives of Hellenism and Christianity. It portrayed a Greco-Christian people who had been hellenised and christianised in the mist of time and since then have been engaged in a struggle to safeguard their Hellenic cultural heritage and Orthodox faith against attempts by foreign powers to de-hellenise and de-christianise them. Despite these efforts, the people stubbornly hold to their traditions and managed to maintain their Greek consciousness and the Greco-Christian character of the island.

In England, the style of imagining the nation was more fragmented, into five images, each being projected by different narrative strands. The first was the image of a democratic people, the English first and then the British, who hated autocratic rule, respected the rule of law and were committed to justice, and with the passing of time have broadened their liberties. This representation was embedded into the narrative of constitutional growth. A second strand, the narrative of expansionism, depicted a powerful, progressive and endangered English nation who had managed to bring gradually their weak, backward and threatening Celtic neighbours under English power. The same narrative also puts forward the image of a civilised, imperial and superior British nation, engaged in a mission to spread civilisation to less fortunate and inferior peoples and built the largest empire the world had ever seen. The fourth and fifth images were promoted by the narrative of society, economy and culture. This strand represented and constituted an insular English farming and rural people and the world's first and most superior industrial nation – the British.

In relation to the style in which the community was imagined, perhaps the most important difference across the two places is the question of intra-national difference. The English textbooks often presented the nation as a heterogeneous entity in terms of gender, age, class, region and everyday culture. The Greek Cypriot textbooks to a large extent did not acknowledge sub-national diversity of this sort, projecting an image of the people as a homogeneous entity. In England, the hybrid nation was the effect and a sign of the colonisation of school histories by discourses of difference. Sensitivity to intra-national difference began to emerge in a radical form during the early post-war period: in the various social movements of the 1960s and in socialist, feminist, radical, post-colonial and liberal academic historiography that gave voice to what Kennedy calls "the 'losers' in history" – the poor, women, children, the worker, the blacks, the common people[1]. Such movements and historiographical foci were not commonplaces in Cyprus prior or during the time of the production of the new history textbooks.

The construction of national identity and the history textbook genre

The thesis has identified a third cluster of variations in processes of identity construction across the two places. These derive from the local particularities of the educational field and specifically from the different type of textbook genre – the new history textbook genre in England and the traditional history textbook genre in Cyprus. The concept of history textbook genre was defined as a conventionalised way of using language in connection with the writers' perception of themselves, their audience and task, as well as their views on the discipline of history and its constitution.

The first difference is related to the issue of whether both writers and readers were constituted in stories as members of the community. Whereas English textbooks tended not to place them within the symbolic frontiers of the nation, Greek Cypriot textbooks often articulated them as national members. Their varied positioning was the outcome of the frequent use in Cyprus and non use in England of the deictic 'we'.

The second variation is the different mode in which the writers positioned themselves in relation to represented nationalist discourse and the different mode in which

the readers were summoned to identify with it. In English textbooks, the usage by authors of a range of new history features (indirect reporting, direct reporting with sources, multiple viewpoints, questions instead of assertions and others) was indicative of a tendency both to detach themselves from represented talk on nationhood and to implicitly challenge this talk in terms of universal truth over space and time. At the same time, these generic features tended to mitigate the persuasive impact of the nationalist discourse and to generate some space for readership to take an active role in the formation of their own identity.

In contrast, Greek Cypriot textbooks did not allow much space for readers to negotiate and perhaps resist identification with nationalist discourse. Often, nationalist contents were conveyed as universal truths and their illocutionary force was intensified through various features – repetition of wording, the use of adjectives and adverbs as markers of intensification, and so on. Moreover, these features, which were typical characteristics of traditional history, indicated the writers' involvement in the making of nationalist discourse and their disposition to participate in its naturalisation, legitimacy, perpetuation and distribution.

These specific variations were to a large extent effects and manifestations of different pedagogic models and paradigms of history writing in England and Cyprus. Underpinning the English textbooks was a tendency to perceive writers as facilitators and supporters of historical learning; students as active young historians exploring the past; and, historical knowledge as a medium for educational ends and as being created via a process of seeing both sides, weighing things up and adjudicating. In contrast, the Greek Cypriot textbooks were often based upon the view of school historians as carriers of historical truth who explain what had actually happened in the past; students as passive receivers and assimilators of a body of historical facts; and, historical knowledge as an end in itself and as a mere reflection of the past.

At the same time, the two areas of difference across the settings reflect change over time in identity construction in England and continuity in Cyprus. The Cypriot-specific mode of the writers' relation to and the readers' interpellation by the discourse about the national 'self' was also evident in Greek Cypriot textbooks prior to the 1970s. It used to be

the norm in English textbooks before the 1980s. In the new English textbooks, the writers' relation to this discourse was marked by detachment and the readers' interpellation by mitigation. It was a shift in pedagogy and history teaching – from traditional to progressive pedagogy and from traditional to new history – that made it possible for these new patterns of identity formation to appear in English school histories.

Also, the loss of the first person plural in textbooks was a second discontinuity in identity formation in England. This change was in part the impact of a shift in the purposes of history writing and teaching: to promote historical understanding and skills rather than to contribute to the creation of nationals via the transmission of narratives about the nation's past. In Cyprus, on the other hand, the utilization of 'we' in both new and old textbooks meant continuity, reflecting the persistence of perspectives on history as a medium of national socialisation and inculcation of ethnic subjects through the transmission of a body of facts about the people's past.

Relationships of national identities across social domains

The thesis has further shown that within each setting, the new identities in history-books and in intellectual and political practices are in a range of relationship types. These are classified into two broad categories. The first cluster consists of the complementary sort of relationship and linkages of recontextualisation, opposition and exclusion which refer to the divergent themes, propositions, strategies and language between identities across social fields. The second set of correlations, that of appropriateness or interdiscursivity, is defined as intersections or overlaps of topics, strategies and even linguistic forms of realisation between the identities.

The relationships of divergence highlight that there was no such thing as *one* identity in the two societies. Rather, different identities were constructed according to the social domain, and within a given domain, according to the occasion in which their making took places, the theme addressed, and the audience to which it was addressed. In other words, a national identity changes shape not only *over time* in a certain social field and society in general, but also *in space* across social fields in a given society. In a sense, this finding

gives further substance to Wodak *et al.'s* argument that "different identities are discursively constructed according to audience, setting, topic and substantive content"[2].

Despite differences, identities across social fields shared certain commonalities. The source of interdiscursive relationships was different in the two settings. In Cyprus, they were determined in part by the common association of identity in school histories and texts of politicians and intellectuals with historical discourses on nationhood, and in part by the circulation of contemporary political and intellectual nationalist meanings into the field of school history. In England, relationships of interdiscursivity were shaped only by the historical trajectory of nationality. Textbook writers, like politicians and intellectuals, drew on pre-constituted elements from existing nationalist discourses to construct identities. In other words, there was no evidence suggesting that newly-constructed, intellectual and political images and narratives of nation were moved into school histories.

This variation in the way in which political and intellectual identity discourses were distributed in the two places is partly attributed to different degrees of education autonomy from the state materialized in different practices of textbook production. The production of the new Cypriot textbooks was firmly under state control. That is, their authorisation or commissioning was the venture of the Ministry of Education. The new English textbooks, in contrast, were produced by commercial publishers and the state exerted limited or no control over these processes.

Part of the diverse circulation of political and intellectual nationalist discourses into school histories across the two places is also related to the question of how these discourses interacted with the context of their reception. In England, the paradigm of new history and the form of an education for cultural pluralism and anti-racism served as mechanisms of blocking the move of these discourses into history textbooks. It was elements from these educational models that inhabited school histories. The suggestion that these discourses were blocked by politics within education is reinforced by various other scholarly works stressing opposition and resistance from sections of history teachers and writers to the views of conservative politicians and intellectuals on school history and nationhood and their link[3].

In Cyprus, the new political and intellectual identities and the introduction of Cypriot history in schools were also opposed by the Right and the Church[4]. These groups favoured the continuation of the hellenocentric education which dominated educational politics in the Greek Cypriot community in the first three quarters of the twentieth century. Yet, unlike the case of England, the educational context of reception did not block newly-constructed political and intellectual propositions and language of identity from penetrating history textbooks. Rather, it affected their level of explicitness. Unlike the narratives of politicians and intellectuals where the idea of a Cypriot people often became object of overt definition, a Cypriot identity in textbooks tended to be an implicit interpretative resource that the readers needed to draw on to arrive at coherent readings of histories.

8.2 Contrasting conceptions of national identity: a paradox

One of the main arguments of the thesis has been that the patterns of identity reconstruction vary both within and across each setting. In light of evidence presented in this project, it is suggested here that these variations were partly determined by the different assumptions about the nature of identity from the groups of nationals taking part in its constitution. The following table shows two incompatible and contradictory conceptions of identity that were circulated within and across the two places.

Table Five. Assumptions on the nature of national identities

Social field	**Cyprus**	**England**
Political and intellectual fields	non-essentialist, fluid	essentialist, unchanging
Field of school historiography	essentialist, unchanging	non-essentialist, fluid

In Cyprus, as illustrated in the table above, the underlying assumption of Centre-Left intellectuals and politicians on the character of identity was that this entity is not something static but rather something non-essentialist that is situated in the flow of time. Perhaps this perspective was more prevailing and explicit in intellectual texts rather than in political talk. In contrast, the presupposition underpinning textbooks was that identities are primordial

units that are changeless in time. This view on identity stems from the perennialist and primordialist paradigm on the study of nationalism and alludes to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe when the idea of peoples being divided by national character and possessing a common identity was firstly framed[5].

Table Five also illustrates that essentialist beliefs on identity were also behind the writings and speeches of conservative politicians and intellectuals in England. In contrast, and similar to Greek Cypriot political and intellectual views, English school histories were based on the assumption that identities are not natural, inherent or fixed entities. This perspective reflects the emergence of the modernist paradigm on the study of nations in Western Europe and North America, during the second half of the twentieth century[6]. It was this non-essentialist view that the neo-conservatives were opposed to, attempting to restore older essentialist conceptions of nationhood. And it was this paradigm that moved into Cyprus and manifested itself in political and intellectuals views of identity, though not in identities of school histories.

8.3 The construction of national identity revisited

One of the findings of this project is that in order to understand the construction of identity in school histories, researchers need to grasp the discursive and non-discursive particularities of the historical, the political and intellectual, and, the educational layers of context in which they were embedded. This section, taking this finding as a starting point, revisits the approach to identity construction. It seeks to formulate a theoretical model offering a better understanding of *how* identity is produced, sustained and transformed, *discursively*, especially in history textbooks.

Orders of nationalist discourse

It is possible to begin sketching this model by revisiting the notion of 'context'. This notion includes both discursive and material aspects, referring to the conditions of possibility for discourse formation. To explain its discursive facet, the concepts local and societal order of discourse are borrowed and adapted from Fairclough[7]. The local order of

nationalist discourse is defined as a set of historically and socially available interrelated meanings on nationhood that are in use within a certain social field such as history education. This order is not a unified space but includes various 'discourses' which are seen as different styles of talking and writing about the national 'self' that might be separated from one another or overlap in certain aspects. In the domain of school history for instance, the local order mainly includes the official discourse and the discourses of teachers, pupils and textbooks writers.

In addition to the various local orders in a given society, there is the societal order of nationalist discourse. This is defined as the totality of the available semantic resources about the 'self' and their relations: the sum of all local orders of nationalist discourse and the links between them. It is possible for a number of the meanings of the societal order to be produced outside the boundaries of a particular society and in interaction with other societies. Hence, the societal order is a complex discursive space that cannot be reduced to the conventional space of a specific country or nation-state.

Local orders of nationalist discourse may be relatively strongly or relatively weakly demarcated and they may appear in various types of relationships. They may appear in the confrontational sort of relationship, but they may be in relationships of appropriateness, translation and complementarity. The boundaries between local orders are open to being weakened or strengthened over time, and their redrawing is often both a sign of socio-cultural change and a point of contestation and struggle.

In Cyprus and England, the societal order of nationalist discourse, like the local orders of the school historical, political and intellectual fields, is organised in terms of dual positions of identification – Greekness and Cypriotness in Cyprus, and, Englishness and Britishness in England. The dual positions in each societal order are defined as different styles of narrating who 'we' are, as well as diverse styles in which knowledge about the 'self' is constructed. The existence of this duality of positions makes both the societal order and the local orders heterogeneous social landscapes, terrains of contestation, and, spaces of ambiguity, paradoxes, dilemmas and ambivalence.

The collective 'self' in each position is signified from a certain point of view and its projected image is structured in terms of three interconnected categories: topics and propositions on the nation's space, time, *habitus* and culture; discourse strategies, especially those of constituting national unity and difference in relation to the above content categories; and, means and forms of linguistic and visual realisation of nationalist strategies and contents. The modes of meaning investment of these categories are not of a fixed sort. The fluidity of their content in time reflects and constitutes the openness of the societal order and the local orders in change.

Furthermore, the dual positions of identification may also be in various sorts of relationships. They may be in complementary connection or in relations of inclusion and appropriateness, but they may also be in relationships of opposition and exclusion. The nature of their links is a reflection of the nature of identity construction processes, and is, moreover, subject to change over time.

Textual instantiations of national identity construction

The structuring of the general order and local orders of discourse on nationhood is produced and reproduced, as well as challenged, transformed, and deconstructed in particular instances of written or spoken language use. Any occasion of language use, from a single utterance to a longer fragment of text such as a history textbook, a paper given at a conference, or a political speech delivered at a parliamentary session, provided that it has the category 'nation' or 'people' either explicitly or implicitly as its privileged object of attention, can be perceived as an instantiation or text of identity construction. The constitution of nationhood in such texts is a contingent and situational praxis, for it is determined by a number of contextual factors: the topic addressed, the genre type of the text, the general features of the social occasion and the field in which the text is embedded, and more generally, the wider society and its historical trajectory.

A particular text of national identity construction necessarily positions itself in relation to the societal order of nationalist discourse. On the one hand, it is shaped by the diachronic and synchronic available meanings on nationhood. In history textbooks, identity

is essentially dependent on the resources making the local order of nationalist discourse in school and academic historiography. On the other, textual instances of identity construction are constitutive of the societal order in both normative and creative ways. Some of those reproduce and preserve its structure whereas others contribute to its reshaping. The specificities of the social field, the genre type and the wider socio-political and historical circumstances, also determine to a large extent how an instantiation works upon the order. It is important, however, to avoid a one-sided emphasis on either repetitive or creative properties of nationalist language use. Even a single instance is part repetition, part creation, making texts of identity as sites of tension and ambivalence between reproductive and transformative pressures.

In Cyprus and England, a particular text of identity construction is, moreover, a reflection of the duality of identification of the societal order of nationalist discourse. It commonly draws upon elements from Greekness and Cypriotness in Cyprus, and from Englishness and Britishness in England. Yet, the degree of interdiscursivity varies from one text to another. For instance, textbook P3&4 in Cyprus can be described as the most Cyprocentric of those analysed and textbook P5&6 as the most Hellenocentric. In England, of all the textbooks examined, textbook MUK4 contains the largest number of English meanings while textbook MUK1 the smallest number.

The different identity positions manifest themselves in the properties of a text, including features of wording, absences, presences and assumptions. As in the societal order of discourse, each position is imagined in a systematic way from a particular point of view and the overall image of the national 'self' is organised on the basis of nationalist contents and strategies, and their linguistic structures of realisation. In contrast to the societal order, a certain text enacts a sort of closure in the categories 'past', 'future', 'territory', 'character', 'culture' – a temporary stop to the fluctuation of their meaning and the fixation of the image of the national 'self' in a certain way.

Finally, a particular instance of identity formation is necessarily in a dialectical relation to the non-discursive context of its production. On the one hand, it is a socially and historically situated mode of representing the world, shaped by material events and

structures of the social. On the other hand, it is constitutive of the social in both conventional, reproductive ways, and creative, transformative ones, with the emphasis upon the one or the other function in particular cases depending on its social circumstances. In other words, the material context, alongside the societal and local orders of nationalist discourse, creates conditions for certain modes of thinking and writing about the 'self', and at the same time, delimits what can be thought and said.

8.4 Suggestions for future research

From these theoretical considerations, it derives that a central feature of identity construction in school histories is the production and consumption of textbooks. Yet, due to practical limitations of space and due to its historical nature this project could not focus on these processes. This section suggests that these processes should be areas for future research. Their study can contribute to a better understanding of how identity is constructed in the domain of history education.

One limitation of the thesis is that the specific processes through which histories were produced have not been adequately examined. Textbooks are written in certain institutional sites and in specific ways. They are produced in state departments of education or commercial publishing houses, through complex routines and procedures of a collective nature, by a team whose members are variously involved in their different stages of production and are constrained in a range of ways by available meaning resources, state recommendations, publishing guidelines, and many other factors. The thesis has focused only on the question of how textbook producers drew on and restructured the societal order. Yet, descriptions of identities in textbooks and their linkages to the societal order should be combined with analysis of textbook production practices. An important matter for investigation in this thesis would have been the possible transformations that the content of a book had undergone before it was published and under whose intervention changes had occurred. This kind of information would have further helped to understand why certain nationalist meanings were included and others not.

Part of what is involved in the way that textbooks are produced is the issue of the textbook writers, in Carr's relevant advice, "[b]efore you study the history, study the historian"[8]. This project did not focus on the biographies of school historians. However, their personal values, political affiliations, epistemological assumptions and ideological perspectives are of great importance in understanding processes of identity construction in their narratives. Hence, the enquiry into nationalist historical discourses in schools should not be isolated from the study of the notion of 'textbook producer'. The inclusion of this kind of analysis could have helped to explain, among other things, why some histories in Cyprus were more Hellenocentric and others more Cyprocentric; and in England, why some textbooks included less English motifs than British ones and others focused more on Englishness than Britishness.

Moreover, the diverse ways in which textbooks may have been deployed in classroom or how they may have been decoded by pupils and teachers have not been considered. But textbooks, as Apple remarks, "are subject to multiple readings – in dominant, negotiated, or oppositional ways"[9]. The study of textbook consumption processes was not possible due to the historical nature of this project. However, the fact that many of the textbooks which have been examined here are still in use today makes the investigation of the way in which they are used and received an important project of research. In conducting this project, students and teachers, like school historians, should be treated as potential agents of meaning appropriation, translation, opposition or exclusion, and their discursive practices as sites of making divergent interdiscursive mixtures of national identity.

Thus, there is a need to bring together the study of nationhood in histories with ethnographic research of how nationalist topics, strategies and language are consumed in history lessons. It is also important to focus on the interplay between the various pedagogic actors' resources which have been internalised and brought with them to textbook processing, and the textbook itself, as a set of 'cues' for the interpretation procedures. The monitoring of responses to school historiographies can be carried out through interviews, group discussions, lessons observation or writing tests.

Finally, a last set of areas for future research would be, firstly, a more detailed study of the impact of new history on identity construction, and secondly, a fresh look at how traditional history has contributed to nation-building processes. What is suggested here is a need to re-investigate and rethink the relationship between school historiography and national identity formation in light of complex new views of cultures that emerged and new hybrid historiographical practices in schools, combining features from new and traditional history. Through a discursive approach to national identity, this thesis has contributed towards the direction of reaching new complexities in the understanding of identity formation in history education. However, there is a need for more research to be done, not only in Cyprus and England, but also across a range of national settings.

8.5 Reflections on the thesis

The rethinking of the link between school history and identity formation is not the only contribution of this thesis to knowledge. This last section reflects on the importance of this project for, and its location within, the field of comparative education. It also summarises the epistemic conditions of possibility for the creation of academic knowledge in this thesis and attempts to outline some of the consequences of the knowledge produced for the domains of history education and nationalism.

National identity, post-foundational thinking and comparative education

This thesis has shown that the concept of 'identity' is still a valuable category of cross-national research in education, albeit in a redefined form. To reconceptualise this unit idea of the field, the thesis drew primarily upon post-foundational thinking – post-modernism, post-colonialism and post-structuralism. The theoretical approach to identity has rejected the enlightenment reading of identities as essentialist, fixed and coherent. Instead, it has been informed by the postmodern view that they are fractured and contingent, formed and transformed constantly through and within representation. It has also been based on postcolonial theory, notably the idea of identity as a discursive device constituting unity out of difference, of the interconnectedness of cultures, and of the 'other' as a major source of 'self'-identity. It has finally drew on poststructuralist linguistic philosophy which sees

language as a medium of constructing social identities, relations and systems of knowledge, rather than as a means merely reflecting them. The reconceptualisation of the unit idea of identity along post-foundational lines is perhaps the most important contribution of the thesis to comparative education.

The thesis, however, did not fully adopt post-foundationalism. It has not aligned itself with the postmodernist reification of discourses as autonomous collusive actors which steer the speakers and writers, nor has it subscribed to the poststructuralist dogma that there is 'nothing outside the text'. Instead, it has acknowledged a non-discursive realm in the social which is dialectically interconnected to discourse and suggests that discursive practices produce, maintain and change material aspects of the world just as elements of material reality shape what can be thought, spoken and written.

Forming a central part of the thesis's framework of analysis, post-foundational assumptions have structured partly what the researcher has been able to 'see' in the material studied. For, as Berger puts it, "[t]he way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe"[10]. In this respect, the way in which the data were ordered, interpreted and explained has not been a purely objective and rational activity from a sovereign authority with privileged access to the truth. Rather, it has been a part of the paradigms that influence the analyst, determining how to choose, collect, organise, and make sense of the material. In other words, this frame is partly the basis from which knowledge has been produced in this thesis, implying that this type of knowledge is also socially-situated, positional and contingent – a re-construction of the past.

In effect, this project belongs to an emerging body of comparative education literature which critically engages with post-foundational concepts and methods in the study of educational issues across national settings[11]. Yet, and despite the discussions of the benefits for the field of post-foundational reasoning, only a minority of researchers who remain on the margin of mainstream comparative education have taken up this paradigmatic shift[12].

An interdisciplinary approach

What the analyst has been able to deduce from the material examined was also influenced by insights gained from a critical engagement with various social science disciplines (sociology, cultural studies, politics, anthropology, history, linguistics) and other sub-domains of the educational field itself (history and sociology of education, history textbooks analysis). These disciplines and sub-disciplines became the means through which histories of nationhood were created and the idea of identity was given an internal structure with three interconnected levels: the content level, the level of strategies and the level of realisation.

The researcher's working and intellectual capital was also influenced by social theory[13]. This is evident in the way the thesis has understood the world. Underpinning this project is a specific reading of *cosmos*. This is construed as a world of fluidity and instabilities where the irreconciliatory forces of tradition and modernisation, fantasy and reality, localism and universalism co-exist generating tensions of various sorts; a world characterised by myriad forms of hegemonic plans, discursive struggles and resistance to hegemony, by increasing degrees of interdependence between cultures, hybridity and heteroglosia and by dilemmas and antinomies. This specific interpretation and making of *cosmos* produced a central aspect of the mode of comparative analysis in the thesis, essentially based on the search for contingencies, fragmentation, ambivalence, heterogeneity, contradictions and pluralism in processes of national identity formation in Cyprus and England.

Therefore, this project has strengthened the multi-disciplinary tradition of comparative education. It has also added to it and to re-imagining what it means to carry out educational research across national settings by breaking down some of the boundaries between theories and methods traditionally associated with different fields of study. Moreover, it is a contribution to the field, for it has built bridges not only across disciplinary boundaries, but also between macro and micro levels of analysis, between theoretical and empirical studies, and, between different types of knowledge, constituted according to

different rules and directed at diverse applications. In a sense, this thesis can be seen as a response to the call for "a neo-comparative education"[14].

Discourse as a bridge across and within national settings

The discursive framework of the thesis for analysing identities has been the most valuable aspect of the researcher's interpretative repertoire. It has helped the thesis to construct a language of description of identity formation that captures what is common across and within the settings, i.e. the discursive reconstruction of identity. At the same time, this language of description does not gloss over history, culture, difference and conflict. It has been shown that 'discourse' is a useful methodological, theoretical and analytical tool in the study of educational phenomena in different cultural settings and in different social domains and times within the same setting.

In particular, the concept of 'contents of discourse, of 'discourse strategy' and of 'linguistic realisation' have constituted a potent apparatus for identifying and describing the different styles in which identities are imagined not only across but also within communities, both diachronically and synchronically. This conceptual apparatus has been also crucial in uncovering contestation over or confusion about nationhood, as well as ambivalence, dilemmas and paradoxes in processes of identity construction. It also made it possible for the analyst to critically 'read between the lines' and to grasp the more latent nationalist presuppositions and prejudices. This aim was only reached with the help of explanatory insights from various disciplines which however were often formulated without any detailed linguistic analysis of texts. The kind of analysis offered in this thesis has shown that language analysis can enhance more abstract social insights by indicating how these are brought off.

The idea of interdiscursivity has also been a useful device in this thesis, notably in sketching change and continuity within the general and local orders of nationalist discourse. It has also been instrumental in revealing the reciprocal links between identities in history textbooks and the broader context within which their making had occurred. Therefore, inderdiscursivity, and more generally discourse analysis, offers opportunities to

comparativists for reviving and revitalising two of the oldest but largely marginal traditions of comparative education – the study of the cultural context in which educational phenomena take place and the historical approach to comparative education research.

A contextual and historical analysis

Hence, this thesis situates itself within the strand of this field which has always taken the cultural and historical context as its point of departure in the study of educational matters across different cultures. In effect, it is also a response to the call by many comparative educators for the re-invention of a sense of context and a sense of the history of context in the study of educational phenomena across cultures[15].

Nevertheless, there are several fundamental differences between this thesis and older approaches to the study of history and culture. The relationship of education with its broader context is not perceived here as one of determinism – 'forces and factors' as 'determinants' of forms of education. Instead, this motif has been re-conceptualised in terms of possibility: 'forces and factors' as a context of possibilities for the construction of educational models. Similarly, the link between 'the things outside the schools' and 'the things inside the schools' has been re-read in terms of a dialectic: 'the things inside' are shaped by 'the things outside', but simultaneously, they are constitutive of them. This derives from a re-definition of the nature of education. The signifying practices of the educational field have been re-interpreted as central sites of the discursive constitution, reproduction and reconstruction of the culture, history and character of a nation, rather than being viewed as mere reflections of its unique character, history and culture.

An explanatory intervention with emancipatory and deconstructive effects

It also derives from the above discussion that the thesis itself is an interdiscursive mosaic. What unifies its diverse theoretical and methodological strands was the overall purpose to understand and explain the complexity of national identity construction in school mythistories. In this view, this doctoral work may be classified as a theoretically informed and interpretative approach to a certain educational issue. Several implications are

embedded in the hermeneutic character of this study which need to be made explicit in order to highlight its significance for the fields of history education and nationalism.

This thesis is a form of discursive intervention in practices of school history and nation-building, particularly to change what these practices consider and project as the truth. This intervention has taken an explanatory form in contrast to a more practically-oriented research. It has, among other things, served to uncover the socio-historical roots of specific nationalist and historicist motifs that were aimed at discursive unification or exclusion of human beings and at backing certain political goals; to heighten the awareness of the strategies and linguistic resources that were used to code these meanings; and to reveal the interconnectedness of nationalist discourses in textbooks and the socio-political contexts in which they were embedded. Put in another way, it has addressed and thrown light on the largely imaginary and contingent nature of national identities and school histories.

The philosopher Roy Bhaskar suggests that explanation is a condition of human emancipation. As he puts it, "emergent phenomena require realist explanations and realist explanations possess emancipatory implications"[16]. The knowledge produced in this project is emancipatory at least in three ways. First, because it helps not least the English/British and the Greek Cypriots to free 'ourselves' from dogmatic, essentialist, and naturalising conceptions of history and nation. Second, it is liberating, for it throws out old nationalist and historical certainties and unmasks those who have benefited from them. Third, it is emancipating because it leads to the beginning of a general recognition of how things seem to operate in society. Knowledge in the form of national identity or school history is always related to power and within particular social formations, the most powerful distribute and legitimise their own nationalist and historical views as the true ones. Thus, national images and stories are continually being reconstructed and this reconstruction reflects balances of hegemony. This view, according to Jenkins, is also the way out of relativism that is embedded in constructionist perspectives on knowledge production[17].

Through the production and circulation in the two national settings of a more sophisticated understanding of the way representations and narratives of the nation are constituted, this thesis also participates in a deconstructive process of nationalism. This

process, as was mentioned earlier, was initiated in the 1960s, but was only intensified in the last two decades.

To deconstruct one type of national mythology is, however, the precondition of constructing another type. In other words, the political aim underpinning this research has been to combat uncritical, xenophobic and exclusionary nationalism and to substitute it with what Habermas calls a "difference-sensitive inclusion" – equal pluralistic and peaceful coexistence of various social groups, forms of life and ethnic, linguistic, racial and religious communities, based on intercultural dialogue, tolerance and understanding[18]. This aim, according to what has been said or implied above, can be achieved at least in two ways: by pedagogising emancipation from grand nationalist narratives and through critical language awareness, both offering opportunities to children to participate in the shaping of their national communities and identities. This might be an elusive, and perhaps, illusory task, but it might be a political illusion worth living by.

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APPENDIX I

Greek Cypriot history textbooks

The small number of the textbook produced and circulated during the period under study, seven in total, made it possible to examine all of them.

Primary schooling

P3&4: 'Team of the Ten' (1980) *History of Cyprus: from the Stone Age to the age of Christianity* (Lefkosia, Printko), for the 3rd and 4th grades of elementary schooling. The members of the writing team were mainly in-service primary school inspectors, headmasters and teachers, and notably the inspectors N. Leontiou and P. Ioannides who were responsible for editing of the textbook.

P5&6: Polydorou, A. P. (1978) *History of Cyprus* (Lefkosia, Printko), for the 5th and 6th grades of elementary schooling.

Secondary schooling

G&L: Georgiades, K. (1978) *History of Cyprus* (Lefkosia, Zavalli), 2nd edition, for all grades of secondary school.

L1: Pantelidou, A., Chatzikosti, K. & Christou, I. (1990) *History of Cyprus: from the Neolithic to the Roman period* (Lefkosia, Department of Curricula Development, Ministry of Education and Culture), for the 1st grade of Lyceum (upper secondary schooling).

L2: Pantelidou, A. & Chatzikosti, K. (1991) *History of Cyprus: Byzantine period* (Lefkosia, Department of Curricula Development, Ministry of Education and Culture), for the 2nd grade of Lyceum.

L3: Pantelidou, A. & Chatzikosti, K. (1992) *History of Cyprus: Medieval and Modern period* (Lefkosia, Department of Curricula Development, Ministry of Education and Culture), for the 3rd grade of Lyceum. The section referring to *Anglokratia*, the 'English' administration of the island, was written by Savvidou, Ch.

Ga: A new book for the three grades of the Gymnasium was published in 1994 and was a brief summary of the above three: *History of Cyprus* (Lefkosia, Department of Curricula Development, Ministry of Education and Culture). The textbook was written by three authors as follows: from the Neolithic to the Hellenistic period by A. Pantelidou & K. Protopapa, from the Roman period to Frankokratia by S. Yiallourides, and from the Venetokratia to the Republic of Cyprus by K. Protopapa.

English history textbooks

In England, only a sample of the textbooks produced during the early 1990s was analyzed. This sample was selected on the basis of their popularity amongst teachers. This information was acquired from a report on the writing of history textbooks in the early 1990s prepared by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority[1].

Curriculum area: Invaders and Settlers

IS1: Buxton, S. (1991) *The Invaders* (Kent, Hodder & Stoughton) (series title: Action History).

IS2: Triggs, T.D. (1992) *Saxon Invaders and Settlers* (Hove, Wayland) (series title: Invaders and Settlers).

IS3: Triggs, T.D. (1992) *Viking Invaders and Settlers* (Hove, Wayland) (series title: Invaders and Settlers).

Curriculum area: Medieval Realms

MR1: Mason, J. (1991) *Medieval Realms* (Harlow, Longman) (series title: A Sense of History).

MR2: Cootes, R.J. (1992) *Medieval Realms* (Surrey, Thomas Nelson) (series title: Key Stages in History) (series editors: Cootes, R.J. and Snellgrove, L.E.).

Curriculum area: the Making of the United Kingdom

MUK1: Mason, J. (1992) *The Making of the United Kingdom: Crowns, Parliaments and Peoples, 1500-1750* (Harlow, Longman) (series title: A Sense of History).

MUK2: Snellgrove, L.E. (1992) *The Making of the United Kingdom* (Surrey, Thomas Nelson) (series title: Key Stages in History) (series editors: Cootes, R.J. and Snellgrove, L.E.).

MUK3: Hepplewhite, P. and Tonge, N. (1992) *The Making of the United Kingdom* (Ormskirk, Causeway Press) (series title: Discovering History) (series editors: Tonge, N. and Hepplewhite, P.).

MUK4: Kelly, R. (1992) *A wider world: the making of the United Kingdom, 1500-1750* (Cheltenham, Stanley Thornes) (series title: History Matters)

Curriculum area: Expansion, Trade and Industry

ETI1: Mason, J. (1993) *Expansion, Trade and Industry* (Harlow, Longman) (series title: A Sense of History).

ETI2: Cootes, R.J. and Snellgrove, L.E. (1993) *Expansion, Trade and Industry* (Watson-on-Thames, Thomas Nelson) (series title: Key Stages in History) (series editors: Cootes, R.J. and Snellgrove, L.E.).

ETI3: Adams, R. (1992) *Expansion, Trade and Industry* (Ormskirk, Causeway Press) (series title: Discovering History) (series editors: Tonge, N. and Hepplewhite, P.)

Endnotes

[1] School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1994) *The impact of the National Curriculum on the production of history textbooks and other resources for Key Stage 2 and 3 – a discussion paper* (London, SCAA).